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THE
PATRIOT KING
DISPLAYED:

IN THE
Life and Reign of HENRY VIII.
KING of ENGLAND:

FROM

The TIME of his QUARREL with the POPE,
to his DEATH.

By EDWARD LEWIS, M.A.
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OXFORDSHIRE.

Βασιλικόν καλῶς ποιοῦντα κακῶς ἀκούειν. *Antisthenes.*
To do Good, and to suffer Reproach, is the Duty,
and Portion, of Kings.

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ERRATUM.

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THE

THE
PATRIOT KING,
DISPLAYED.

Good princes foar above their fame;
And in their worth
Come greater forth
Than in their name.

SECT. I.

*Henry writes against Luther. In high fa-
vour at Rome. He, his nobles, clergy,
and people, good and happy. The intend-
ed divorce changes the scene.*

HENRY wrote against Luther,
and sent his book to Rome.
The Pope received it with re-
spect in full consistory, and in return,
conferred on him and his successors, the
title of Defender of the faith. Both were
pleased: The Pope had no where a son

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so

so dutiful, a vassal so devoted, as the King of England. “ So catholic a prince, that no heretic durst shew his face; so virtuous and learned a clergy, so grave and sound a nobility, and so loving and obedient the subjects, all in one faith agreeing together; how happy the estate of this realm (a)! ”—But the extremity of a disease, is often the crisis; and the seeming approach of death, the beginning of relief. Henry’s divorce from an incestuous bed, occasioned a divorce from the mother of harlots, and abominations of the earth. The case was this.

Arthur Prince of Wales, eldest son of Henry VII. married Catharine daughter of Ferdinand of Spain; he was about sixteen, they cohabited about five months, and he died. She was again married to his brother Henry VIII. by a dispensation from Rome, which, she said, her father

pur-

(a) Roper’s life of More.

purchased at no small rate. They lived together eighteen years, had several children, none lived but Mary, that bloody woman. Mary was affianced to the son of her mother's sister, Charles, emperor of Germany and king of Spain. The spanish council objected to her, as illegitimate. Afterwards being proposed to the French king, or his son, her legitimacy was again objected to, by the French ambassador, as a child of incest. This disturbed the King's conscience. It is said cardinal Wolsey raised the first scruples by Henry's confessor. Wolsey denied the charge, yet was warm for the divorce.

S E C T. II.

Did conscience or Lust set Henry upon that project?

HENRY's maligners will not allow conscience to have any hand in this affair. "Henry and conscience in the same sentence! What connexion?—Mrs Anne Bollen had ensnared him.—Hence the tyrant's uneasiness. And thus your fine reformation is founded on lawless lust, an injured queen, and foul adultery."

The truth is, the precise time when his scruples commenced, or he first saw that lovely woman, is not known. The thing is canvassed by Rapin, with accuracy and candor. Just reasons for scruples he had from the beginning, and possibly he had them. But when the thing was done, he might think it more expedient to acquiesce, than to make bad worse,

worse, by giving way to them. Generous was his spirit, nor was compassion a stranger to it. To afflict an innocent woman, his sister in law, his wife, the mother of his child, must wound him. Her last message drew tears from him.—The resentment of her relations,—the plagues of Rome,—the expence, and chicanery of her courts,—to bastardise his child, &c. these might counterbalance scruples, in themselves not light. But when he saw her, with the crown of England, refused by two princes, upon the same pretence of incest; was it not enough to turn the scale, and to convince him others had their scruples, as well as he; scruples, which might prove ruinous to his family and people; and, by a disputed succession, bring back the wretched days of York and Lancaster? Base is it and cruel, to impute to lawless lust, an action founded upon the laudable motives of zeal for his country's welfare,

fare, peace of conscience, and submission to the laws of God.

The divine law is express. "Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy brother's wife, it is thy brother's nakedness," Lev. xviii. 16. And again, "If a man shall take his brother's wife, it is an unclean thing, he hath uncovered his brother's nakedness, they shall die childless." Lev. xx. 21. Now three sons he had by her, who all died infants. This he might look upon, as the very punishment denounced against the uncleanness he was guilty of.—His favourite author was St. Thomas Aquinas, which angelic doctor determines, "that a marriage within the degrees of affinity in Lev. xviii. is no true marriage; is not contracted without sin; and ought always to be made void."—By the council of Neocæsaria, Can. 2. A. D. 314. more ancient than that of Nice, it is decreed, "that a woman, marrying two brothers, should be

be cast out till death." Other arguments out of the records, saith Lord Herbert, were St. Basil, ep. 197. Two Popes also, Gregory and Innocent III. who professed the Pope cannot dispence against the law of God.—Cease your bellowing, ye popish railers. It is not Henry ye bespatter, but popes, councils, fathers, saints, chiefs of the school, and holy scripture.—The law, Deut. xxv. to marry a brothers childless widow, the Jews say does not now oblige. The next of kin were called brother. Nor after Moses do we hear of two real brothers marrying the same woman. The Samaritans imagine the woman must be only betrothed, not married. Be this as it may. All the abovementioned authority decides in Henry's favour.

S E C T. III.

The cause carried to Rome. How managed there.

HENRY thus justly disturbed, at his living in a state of incest with his brother's wife, contrary to all laws human and divine, counterbalanced by nothing, but an infamous papal dispensation; and the marriage, as illegal, being ipso facto void from the beginning. Yet, as mankind was so silly, as to have an high opinion of the Pope's authority; to obviate ill-grounded prejudices, and prevent future debates, it was judged expedient to apply to Rome for a divorce. The Pope seemed willing to grant it, but feared the Emperor's resentment, who had then great power in Italy. He told Cassali, the King's ambassador, in private, he might have two wives; or, would he send a proxy to Rome, he would give sentence against the

the queen, for he knew his cause was good and just.—Pope Paul III. told the same Cassali, that he, when cardinal, had urged his predecessor Clement, to right the King in his divorce: and persuaded the Emperor, to suffer it with patience. Clement however would not risk the Emperor's displeasure: he commissioned two cardinals to try the affair in England: and Henry and Catharine appeared before them. But Catharine protested against them, as incompetent judges, and appealed to the Pope; he accepts the appeal, and, such the insolence of the man, cites the King and Queen of England to appear at his courts at Rome. Henry did not debase himself to appear there, but he sent his agents. And during the five months it was debated there, all Rome flocked to the consistory as to a farce, in which the impertinence of the actors was the sole entertainment.

S E C T. IV.

Cranmer puts Henry upon consulting universities and learned men. Offers to dispute the point at Rome. Meets with none to oppose him.

WHILST this very serious affair was thus ridiculously carrying on at Rome; Fox and Gardiner accidentally meeting with Cranmer, then a tutor in Cambridge, fell into discourse about the divorce. Cranmer mentioned consulting universities and learned men. They told the King; he thought pleased him. He sent for Cranmer. "One hundred thousand pounds (said he) have I thrown away upon the court of Rome, which I might now have had in my pocket, had I received this hint sooner. Give me your sentiments in writing." He did so, in a book, setting forth, "That by the authority of scripture, fathers, and councils, it was unlaw-

unlawful to marry a brother's widow; and that no such marriage could be authorised by the Pope's dispensation." This he carried to Rome, and offered to dispute the matter there, with any whom the Pope would appoint. None entered the lists. Is it not a plain confession, that the sacred college was convinced, the thing was wholly indefensible? Cranmer departed thence into Germany, there to consult the learned. Upon the same errand, were others sent into France and Italy.

SECT.

S E C T. V.

Universities and learned men generally decide in favour of the divorce. And without a bribe.

IN Italy was Crook employed, with orders, neither to give nor promise money, till they had freely delivered their opinion; which, as he wrote, he had so carefully observed, that he offered to forfeit his head if the contrary were found true. Besides the many divines and canonists, whole houses of religious orders, the universities of Ferrara, Padua, and the Pope's own town Bononia, declared the laws in Leviticus to be the laws of nature, which the Pope could not dispense with. Crook sent, in all, an hundred several books, and papers with subscriptions, all condemning the King's marriage, as unlawful in itself.

At

At Paris, after a mass of the Holy Ghost, the doctors of the Sorbon took an oath to study the question, and to give judgment according to their consciences. And after three weeks study, the greater part agreed, " That the marriage was unlawful; and that the Pope could not dispense with it." How solemn! — Were they sincere? — Faithless were they? — Or are we without charity? — At Orleans, Angiers, and Tholouse, they determined to the same purpose. Crook farther said, that " the Pope and Emperor threatned all that subscribed in favour of the divorce." That he had got eighty principal men's hands, and thirty more, which by their means were burnt: And " that the Emperor terrified ours, and confirmed his friends, by threatning, intreaty, money, and benefices." In conclusion, saith Herbert, I find many would have given their opinion in favour of the divorce, if they durst.

These

These decisions of the universities, and the books written for the divorce, were first read in the House of lords: and then carried down by Sir Thomas More the chancellor, and twelve temporal and spiritual lords, to the commons. There were twelve seals of universities shewed, and their decisions read; there were also an hundred books produced, written upon the same argument. And then the chancellor desired them to report to their counties, that they now clearly saw, the King had not attempted this matter of his mere will and pleasure, but for the discharge of his conscience, and the security of the succession of the crown. All which made the commons detest the marriage: and the people for the most part exclaimed against it. But a member, in the lower house, moving for an address to the King, to take the Queen again, Henry sent for the speaker, and declared, "it concerned his soul so much that he of-

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ten wished the marriage had been good; but since the doctors of the universities had declared it unlawful, he could do no less, than abstain from her company, which therefore he wished them to take for the true reason, without imputing it to any wanton appetite; since being in the forty-first year of his age, it might be justly presumed, such motions were not so quick in him.—That having informed himself in all parts of Christendom, concerning strange marriages, to marry a brother's wife was so abhorred amongst all nations, that he never heard any christian did so but himself; And therefore wished them to believe, that his conscience was troubled."

He had, before this, convened the lords, judges, &c; and protested, that nothing but the giving satisfaction to his conscience, and care of establishing the succession to the crown, in a right and undoubted line, had first influenced him

to.

to controvert his marriage; being, otherwise, as happy in the affection and virtues of his queen, as any prince living. He also lamented his misfortune; and made no manner of mirth or pastime, as he used to do. And considering what it cost him, and how it endangered the succession, there is just reason, saith Herbert, to believe him sincere.

To bring the matter to a point. Henry protests his conscience was troubled. Would Henry lie? Of whom was Henry afraid that he should lie? Look at that honest open face of his, the very feat of magnanimity. — For my part, sooner would I take his word, than the repeated oaths of the whole sacred college.

The truth is, he took every possible method to remove censure, and to shew the expediency, justice, and necessity of
that

that measure. And the greatest libertine, and most addicted to Rome, must acknowledge, he had just reasons to be uneasy at the scandalous situation he was in, and to entertain doubts at least, about the state of his soul, considering him, as he really was, a man of conscience, and through his whole life, deeply impressed with religion. Because, both the reformed, and the maintainers of the Pope's supremacy, so frequently suffered; his enemies said he had no religion. But this, saith Herbert, is a calumny; for he stood firmly by his own reformation. Till the Pope refused him justice, which he sought at immense expence, and seven years waited for with patience, he believed as the church believed without hesitation. That abuse opened his eyes, and he thenceforth dared to see what he did see, and was not afraid of truth, transubstantiation excepted. THAT, indeed is a lie, of too hardened a temper, to admit the
 impres-

impression of sense, reason, or revelation: That, remained with him to the last in its genuine deformity; and tho' void of every appearance of truth, as it had been for ages enforced by fire, was so in his, and this was the deepest blot in that salutary reign.

SECT.

S E C T. VI.

Henry's divorce from Catharine: and marriage with Anne Bollen judicially pronounced by Cranmer. Both sentences confirmed by parliament. The measure just and happy.

HAVING thus satisfied his people, and justified himself to the sensible and candid part of mankind, he married Anne Bollen, and referred the matter to the convocation, which unanimously determined against the marriage with Catharine. And at last, the ceremony of pronouncing the divorce was judicially performed by Archbishop Cranmer; (his assessors being Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, and the Bishops of London, Lincoln, and Bath and Wells) declaring that marriage to have been null from the beginning. And some days after, Cranmer gave another sentence, confirming Henry's marriage with Queen Anne.

Anne. Both which sentences were afterwards confirmed by both houses of parliament without opposition.

Just and right was the step, and God gave a blessing to it. That happy measure crushed the Roman hydra. Yielded an ELIZABETH, the greatest and best of princes a people were ever blessed with. Forty four such years, to one people, in one reign, are not to be paralleled in history. A woman, preserved from Bonner, Gardiner, and Pole; and from two such fiends as Philip and Mary! From such a crowd also of open enemies, secret conspiracies, assassins, poisoners, and all the machinations of Rome; to rule a great people, with uninterrupted success, untarnished glory, for the space of forty four years.—“ That men may see, and know, and consider, and understand together, that the hand of the Lord hath done this, and the Holy One of Israel hath created it.”

SECT.

S E C T. VII.

The Pope confirms Henry's marriage with Catharine. Threatens to proceed to censures. The supremacy transferred from him to Henry.

HENRY's marrying Anne Bollen, without a divorce or dispensation from the Pope, was an indignity not to be borne. The arrogant high-priest therefore passed sentence against him, declaring the marriage with Catharine good, and requiring him to live with her as his wife, otherwise he would proceed to censures. By this providential step did the Pope lose all power in England. His supremacy was abolished by act of parliament. With which all the bishops, abbots, and priors complied, except Fisher bishop of Rochester. They moreover confirmed to the King, the title of " Supreme head of the church of England under Christ," which had

had first been conferred on him by the convocation.

Now this transferring the supremacy from the Pope to the King; from a foreign usurper, to him whose right it is, was no sudden start in Henry, nor an act of violence, or of lawless will. He first consulted the council, which shewed him precedents of the kings of England, that had used this power; and then his bishops, who, having discussed this point in their convocations, declared, that the Pope had no jurisdiction, warranted to him by God's word, in this kingdom; which also was seconded by the universities, and by the subscriptions of the several colleges and religious houses; so far, as they even bound their successors thereto. The particulars whereof may be seen in our records. The bishops moreover acknowledged this supremacy by oath, or promise under their hands and seals, and renounced the Pope's pretended

ed authority, and any oath or promise made to him heretofore. The form of Gardiner's, may be seen in Fox.—Now did Henry make his will his law? Surely it was a will directed by reason, and guided by counsel, from which, in a long reign, and perilous times, he seldom deviated. Nor in any age or country, were alterations made, in a manner more free and open, with better advice, or greater deliberation.

SECT.

S E C T. VIII.

Christ meddled not with government. Appointed no form to his church. The apostles adopted that by independent synagogues. Which would still be best in heathen countries. Establishments should not be tampered with, whilst the Roman confederacy subsists.

ARGUMENTS on both sides are given us by Burnet. To which I add, That allowing the Pope his groundless claim of being vicar of Christ, and Peter's successor, still no right to supremacy or jurisdiction, in any country, would that give him. Christ declares "his kingdom is not of this world.—That he came to serve.—To bear witness to the truth.—And to give his life a ransom."—He disclaimed the office of a judge.—Would not give sentence where the law was clear.—Tells his disciples, their duty was to serve, their portion to suffer.

suffer. — And extends their commission no farther than to disciple, baptize, and teach. — All beyond is usurpation and man's device. — No licence did he give to offer sacrifice. — The holy sacrifice of the mass is a money-getting trick, a cunningly devised fable. — Jesus left states as he found them. — Meddled not with government. — Nor prescribed any external form to his own church. — The kingdom of God is within you, saith he. — It is righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, saith the Apostle. — Righteousness, and peace, and joy disturb no community. — Yield no just grounds of offence to any magistrates. Thus suited is the religion of Christ to every nation, age, and clime, and to become truly catholic or universal, without enslaving one country to another, or enduring any impolitic connexion.

For the benefit of external worship, the apostles adopted the jewish form by

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inde.

independent synagogues. Philippi had no concern with Ephesus, nor Ephesus with Corinth, nor any of them with Rome. That rubrick, or truly primitive directory, under Paul's own hand, is in 1 Cor. xiv. The Jews continue the same form to this day. And if there be but ten Jews, of easy fortune, in one city, they ought to build a synagogue, or hire a room for one, that the law and prayer may not be forgotten. Thus has their religion continued unvaried, their service been carried on with little or no expence, and all contests prevented about who should be greatest. The Mahometans seem not much to differ from them. Hence a due subordination of their teachers to the civil power. No religious wars, no foreign jurisdiction, or massacres, or additions to their creed, to multiply, disseminate, and perpetuate dissention: That remains in its primitive simplicity, viz. "There is one God, and Mahomet is his prophet."

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The momentous principle, MY KINGDOM IS NOT OF THIS WORLD, Joh. xviii. 36. a principle that ought to be engraven in the heart of every christian, strikes at the very root of avarice and ambition. And, attended too, would for ever have preserved the religion of Jesus in its original purity. For so reasonable is it in itself, so clear, so easy to be understood, being, in truth, nothing but piety towards God, inflexible honesty, universal benevolence, and a readiness to do good to all, as far as we are able; that, had it not been made worth while to corrupt it, it never had been corrupted. Now the apostolic directory adhered to, in independent synagogues, would have enforced that momentous principle, and lessened, if not removed, all temptation. No persecutions had we heard of by christians, no popes, councils, creeds, articles, confessions, &c. All which ultimately owe their existence to that unhappy contest, "who shall be greatest."

Keep your temper, gentle reader. I only just point out to you that ANCIENT RUBRIC: and the grounds of those terrible combustions, the most holy, harmless, divine truths have occasioned, under the management of sinful men. Admirably was it suited, to gather together in one, the children of God, that are scattered abroad, John xi. 52. And, if now practised, by missionaries in heathen countries, could not fail of being crowned with wonderful success. In christian states it must not be thought of, whilst that formidable confederacy subsists, called the church of Rome.

SECT.

S E C T. IX.

The nature of the King's supremacy considered and justified. Generally sworn to. Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More refuse.

BUT “The throne, though filled by a woman, is declared the sole fountain of jurisdiction, in whatever concerns religion.”

And why not? Is not an English woman, of sense and spirit, as likely to rule with discretion, as an old woman at Rome, past its senses, and twice a child? A matter of mighty triumph this to senseless bigots, who make not truth their search. The case is this: Whether disputes about tythes, offerings, marriages, wills, &c. may not as well be determined in England, by English judges, and established laws, in courts held by the Kings authority, as at Rome,

by Italians, in courts held by authority of the Pope. Is an Englishman less just, knowing, equitable, than an Italian? Is not justice as likely to be had upon the spot, as at nine hundred miles distance? To carry witnesses, attend courts, and see council at Rome, is this a privilege worth dying for? A legate, even in popish times, was thought still more oppressive. Cardinal Wolsey, the last pope's legate but Pole, this nation was plagued with, took five per cent. for probate of wills; had he taken fifty, no possible redress was there, but by an appeal to Rome, from whence the remaining fifty would not have brought them back again.

Should not we justly laugh at Italians, were they, for conscience sake, to put themselves under the jurisdiction of Canterbury? Have they less reason to laugh at the English, who cannot die in peace, if not subject to their assuming usurper? — Against superior force there is no remedy,

medy, but to be voluntary slaves to a foreign power, indicates a soul unnaturally debased, by an artful, but most flagitious education. But God had given Henry a wife, intrepid, and understanding heart: He saw the cheat, hurled the Pope from his usurped supremacy, and resumed it to himself, whose right it was, and where the duty of his station, his people's welfare, and his own honour obliged him to fix it.

The supremacy thus settled by parliament, all the members swore to observe it: The subjects were required to take the same oath; Fisher and More refused it, and were therefore sent to the tower, and in the following session, were condemned, by parliament, to perpetual imprisonment. Faction running high, the King was advised to put the laws in execution. To repress the spirit of rebellion by such an example, it was judged expedient to bring them both to

the block : And as they were really men of some figure, and the block and halter seldom fail to raise compassion, they are looked upon as a sort of catholic saints, and afford ample matter for declamation.

SECT.

S E C T. X.

Fisher condemned and executed. His character.

BY the laws of his country was Fisher condemned. He lived some time afterward by the King's grace and favour. In these circumstances did the Pope create him a cardinal: thus impudently asserting that supremacy to himself, which the laws had justly transferred to the King. So that to let Fisher live, thus circumstanced; would have been an evidence of weakness, or fear, or conscious guilt, in the English government; would have been, in effect, to repeal its own law; to deprive the King of his title and authority; and the kingdom of its independence: in a word, to own the Pope supreme. In such a case, a prince less resolute than Henry, would have suffered the law to take its course. It did so. And Cardinal Fisher

lost his head. He died for the Pope, and at the Pope's door lies the blood of that martyr, a martyr for the very quintessence of slavery, stupidity, and folly.

Fisher was Henry's preceptor. He had learning, was devout, a persecutor, superstitious also, or knave enough to favour, if not be an accomplice with the holy maid of Kent, a pretended prophetess, in her impious, and treasonable machinations; and was too obstinate to acknowledge his error, even after the maid herself, and her other accomplices, had confessed their guilt, and were hanged for it. The views of this holy maid's visions and prophecies were to have Henry assassinated. Now if this preceptor, would gladly have murdered his royal pupil, by other hands; and this royal pupil, suffered his ill-designing preceptor to die, as the law required: say, thou candid world, on which side lies ingra-

ingratitude and guilt. Fisher's not confessing his fault, after the villainy was detected, though he knew the King justly expected such a confession, exhibits no small appearance of malice prepense, and that he continued silent and sullen, in hopes his reputation might keep up the credit of that lewd nun, till some inflamed enthusiast could perpetrate the horrid deed. I judge of a tree by its fruit; of men by their deeds. God only knows the heart. I therefore propose this, not as a certainty, but as a probable suspicion. Which suspicion lies equally heavy upon Sir Thomas More, who, after the clearest conviction, would not blast the credit of their prophetic prostitute any further, than to believe her under the influence of an evil spirit. Now an evil spirit, was as likely to know as a good one, if there was really a project in hand to take off the King. But let the impartial judge, whether any such project, had the countenance

nance and benediction of these two holy, persecuting, popish martyrs.

Going to execution, Fisher opened the New Testament, and prayed such a place might turn up, as might comfort him in his last moments. The words that occurred were, “ This is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.” He shut the book, and continued meditating upon those words to the last. And do they not exhibit a strong reproof? As much as to say, “ What is the Pope to thee, or thou to the Pope? Why dost thou murder thyself for what thou hast no concern in? Wouldst thou obtain eternal life, know the only true God, and that Jesus is his messenger.”

S E C T. XI.

*Sir Thomas More condemned and executed.
His character.*

FOR the same silly cause died Sir Thomas More. "A man (saith that faithful and laborious martyr Tindal who lived at that time,) nothing inferior to Wolfey, for lying, feigning, and bearing two faces in one hood." That happy expression, *Two faces in one hood*, exhibits a more lively picture of the man, than any of those left us by his friend Hans Holbein.

More was chancellor, his father a judge. His custom was, in a morning, in Westminster-hall, to ask a blessing from his father on the king's-bench, and then to enter the court of chancery. Was this humility or vanity? Did not the father exult in having his son chancellor? Was not the chancellor

cellor pleased in having a judge for his father? Was it not an illaudable ostentation of filial piety? A blowing the trumpet before alms? A fasting with a dirty face, to be seen of men.

Facetious he was, and a joker, to such a degree of affectation, as not to refrain even upon the scaffold; Yet so gloomy a bigot, as in defence of monks and monasteries, to write a supplication in behalf of the souls in purgatory. His friend Erasmus calls him another Democritus, says "he had a perpetual grin upon his face, and affectedly walked with one shoulder higher than the other." And, "A man's attire, excessive laughter, and gait shew what he is," saith the wise son of Sirach.—When lord chancellor, he was caught in the quire in a surplice, amongst the singing men, by Norfolk. "God's body, quoth the duke, What! A parish clerk! You dishonour the King and his officer."—And
what

what had an old fellow past fifty, enjoying a spirited second wife, to do with a hair shirt, and a whip with knotted cords, to flog himself withall? Did he understand the use of that discipline? had he read the lives of the saints? was all fair? That flogging affair, so tickled the fancy of that proud and surly Jesuit, Petavius, that he was sometimes obliged to send for a surgeon. Whether More went to that extremity, son Roper doth not say.

More, in his Utopia, an imaginary kingdom of his own creating, allows liberty of conscience: But in England, he was a fierce and bloody persecutor. Which shews, he knew what was right and approved it, but acted the contrary. "If men cannot pull that malicious folly [heresy] out of his poisoned obstinate heart. I would rather be content, that he were gone in time, than over long to tarry, to the destruction

tion of others (b).” That is the case. Murder the sincere, the pious creature, and send him to the devil, out of pure charity, and to do God service.

So honourable, in his estimation, was the office of a persecutor, that he would have it inscribed upon his tomb, that he was a plague to thieves, murderers, and heretics, “ furibus, homicidis, hæreticis molestus (c).” — Surely in the net that thou spreadest, in the same wast thou taken. And hadst thou known one of the first principles of nature and of grace, instead of cutting silly jokes upon the scaffold, thou wouldst, with that better instructed Canaanite, have cried out, with deep contrition of soul, “ As I have done, so God hath requited me (d).” — Though a man of parts and learning, he had an opinion of the Kentish prophets, as was just before observed : And when
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(b) More's Works, p. 925.

(c) Roper.

(d) Judges i. 7.

the cheat was detected, owned, and punished, he believed her under the influence of an evil spirit. He either had not sense to see, or honesty to confess; that it was a politic and party piece of roguery.—Seeing Henry's book against Luther in manuscript, he advised him to put out what he had said of the Pope's power, lest upon a future quarrel, it should be turned against him; yet himself died for the Pope's power. So that there seems to be two faces in one hood throughout.

But the punishing of poor heretics by the scourge and fire, did not satisfy More's zeal, or rather his thirst after the applause of men; but he must also turn scribbler against them. Behold a specimen.

“ Mayster Martin Luther, himself beyng specially borne agayne, and new created of the Spirit, whom God, in many

many places of holy scripture, hath commanded to keep his vowe made of chastity. — So far contrary thereunto, took out of religion a spouse of Christ, wedded her himself, in reproach of wedlock called her his wife, and made her his harlot; and in double despite of marriage and religion, both liveth with her openly, and lyeth with her nightly, in shameful incest, and abominable bitchery (e).” — Such the delicacy of a courtier. — And in his latin answer to Luther, he has thrown out the greatest heap of nasty language, that perhaps ever was put together. The book throughout is nothing but downright ribaldry, without a grain of reason to support it (f). Yet so highly pleased were the clergy, to have their mumpsimus defended in any manner; that in their convocation, they made a collection for him, of four or five thousand pounds. Which

at

(e) More's Eng. Works, p. 360.

(f) Bishop Atterbury's Observations.

at this day would be worth forty thousand. But More was too just, or too proud, to accept of a farthing.

In a visit to More, did Erasmus, in seven days, write his celebrated *Moriae Encomium*, or, Praise of Folly. Which he also inscribed to More. In which performance, folly justifies herself with much wit and learning, by shewing, in how great repute she is with all ranks and orders of men. But triumphs indeed, and indicates uncommon pleasure, at her conformity with the catholic church, and in the number and variety of fooleries, to be met with in popery. Now Erasmus was too good natured, and too well bred a man, to have made so free with those holy fooleries, in a book dedicated to More, and wrote under his roof, had he not known, that More had the same contempt for them, that he himself had. Which yields farther grounds for suspicion, that he really

ly bore two faces in one hood : and that he wrote, and persecuted, and died, to gain the praise of men, rather than from any motive of religion. And if such was really the case, let others determine which was most predominant in him, the knave or the fool. Whereas

SECT.

S E C T. XII.

Erasmus is much esteemed by Grotius and Alexander Pope. His character.

HIS friend Erasmus was the most amiable of men. One that wrote so much in a hurry, and composed so many folios, must unavoidably fall into some inadvertencies. But his principal point in view, was rigid morals, and gospel simplicity. He was a learned and judicious commentator. A critic of uncommon sagacity, and equal candour. Had a singular talent in discerning spurious from genuine writings, and thereby deprived popery of many of her strong holds. An impostor could seldom escape his notice. And, if found, he was sure to clap a mark upon him, and to draw him in his proper colours. And I believe it is the honest and open critic, that gives such offence to the founder, and order, of jesuits, and to the favourers
of

of that order.—The jesuit Petavius gives us an edition of Epiphanius, and the life of that saint, written by the Gulliver of the time, without a censure. Erasmus would honestly have informed his reader, that the wretch was an impostor, and a lying knave.—Erasmus would compliment no Father, at the expence of truth, would lie for no party, nor would defend orthodoxy itself, with church saints, by half sentences, and detached scraps of holy writ miserably perverted. He saw the errors of popery, laughed at them himself; and exposed them to the laughter of others; wished success to a reformation, but would rather have had it carried on, not by a packt jury of mercenary tools, subject to the Pope, convened by him, hampered by oaths, and having their eyes blinded by bribes possessed or expected: But by a reference to about fifty or an hundred persons, remarkable for an holy life, singular learning, and impartial judgment.—Peaceable and good man!

man!—Where dwelt those hundred men? or who should chuse them?—Is it natural to men, to receive the truth with the love thereof? no errors of importance would then ever have arisen amongst them. No need, in any age, would there have been of a reformation; but piety, order, virtue, and peace, would have been perpetual and universal. The above project therefore was but a chimera. Men have too tender a regard for their prejudices, to give them up to the management of others.

Grotius says, “ he shewed the way to a true reformation, never suffering himself to be enslaved by disputable questions, nor by the ceremonies of either party. I think myself happy, that at this distance, I can in some measure comprehend his virtue.”

And true it is, that disputable questions, and idle ceremonies, have occasioned
most

most corruptions in religion, and set the world at variance. Erasmus knew what was right. And so did some of the reformers, who likewise knew what people would bear. And, to obtain liberty,—To emerge into day-light, out of bondage worse than Egyptian; and darkness greater than did overspread that land, is a noble acquisition. —To worship the God of my life in public, with a safe conscience, and without fear; is an inestimable blessing; and is so thought by all deprived of it. But from the farce of popery, to gospel simplicity, was a step too large to be taken at once. So that tolerable fooleries were wisely retained, as they gave power to throw off intolerable impieties; whereas your aimers at perfection, ruined themselves, and injured their cause. The wisdom of the serpent is as faultless, as the innocence of the dove is commendable. Christ let in light as his hearers could bear it. Paul fed babes with milk. Cranmer
had

had much of that spirit. Nor was Henry without it. Party makes Henry the very effence of impetuosity and violence. Examine particulars, you will seldom find a prince of more patience, or so cool a temper.

Erasmus was not more the favourite of Grotius, than of Pope, who sometimes had a mind to vindicate his character, from railing monks, and senseless bigots of his own party. I wish he had. Not that Erasmus wants an apology: But his adversaries want modesty. And Pope had abilities to expose them to contempt and shame. Mean while, this my mite is offered to the manes of that best of writers and of men, to obviate the foul abuse of a late factor for Rome, in a fulsome panegyric, upon an ungrateful traitor and rebellious priest, Cardinal Pole. Of which canting hypocrite, I shall have occasion to take notice more than once. And whose true character I

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shall give you, in short, from a most respectable cotemporary author that knew him well.—As cardinals, blessed be God, are a sort of exotic, or unknown plant, in this kingdom, I shall give my English reader a description of them, in almost, not altogether, the words of the said Cardinal Pole's late historian.

SECT.

S E C T. XIII.

Cardinals, and the sacred college delineated.

FROM the letters of that lying saint Pope Gregory the great, it appears, that the term cardinal was ascribed to every settled minister of a church, was he bishop, priest, or deacon : But is now appropriated to certain parishes in Rome. They are not obliged to residence, nor can the number exceed seventy. They are a sort of council to the Pope. And all together are called the sacred college. They are chosen out of all popish countries. Princes recommend, the Pope alone constitutes. An ecclesiastic, active, politic, intriguing ; in favour with his prince, as pimp or prime minister ; of capacity to head a faction, massacre, or rebellion, mad against hereticks, without bowels, without all feeling of every tender passion, such are perfectly qualified for that office. Not that literature is

any bar to a man, provided he be one that will lie for the truth, with competent gravity and an unblushing face. I mention not the being a male favourite to a Pope, a Pope's bastard, or brother to an whore of his holiness, as certain means to gain admission into the sacred college.

These cardinals swear to be faithful and obedient to the church of Rome. — To help and defend the popedom against all men. — To conserve, defend, augment, and promote the rights, honours, privileges and authority of the Pope, and his successors. — And to resist and persecute, to their power, hereticks and schismaticks. By this means, is the court of Rome acquainted with the views of all the popish courts in Europe, and engages the ablest heads in her service. And, what seems to promise perpetuity to this execrable tyranny is, it is their interest to support it.

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The Pope is elected by them, and is one of them. Each has his chance. And who would not support that throne, himself may fill in three days? "But there is no wisdom, nor understanding, nor counsel against the Lord." By a poor apostate Monk was this cunningly devised building shattered, and by the blast of God will it tumble, at his appointed time.

To set fools agape, a Pope and council were so well imployed, as to distinguish them by a scarlet hat. Another Pope extended that colour to their other garments. Though at certain seasons, they wear violet or pale red. The flowing ease, and shape of the upper robes, are equally graceful and majestic. And admirably represent the woman, arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, drunken with the blood of saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus.

Should you and I, beholding this gaudy troop, imagine them a synod of kings? Should we not rather believe them a set of hypocrites? i. e. players, richly habited, just going to begin. This I am sure of, we should perceive no resemblance between them and the carpenter, fishermen, tent-maker, and publican.

S E C T.

S E C T. XIV.

A bull of excommunication drawn up against Henry, but not published. He suppresses all religious houses under £ 200 a year. The infamous behaviour of their religious inhabitants.

W H E N it was heard at Rome, that More and Fisher were executed, the Pope drew up a bull of excommunication against Henry, which yet was not published till above two years after. However it soon came to Henry's knowledge.

In times of pure ignorance, the Pope's curse had direful effects.—Pardons, indulgencies, the road to hell and purgatory obstructed, and heaven open to all, that would execute his orders!—Who would not bear the cross upon his garment, and kill, ravish and destroy, with such rewards in view?

Henry, apprehensive of what might happen; and considering how little foreign allies were to be depended on, and that his support must be derived from his own people; knowing also that those people were seduced and drawn from their duty and allegiance by monks and nuns, creatures that were burthensome to the state, of no use but to devour the fruits of it, of ill lives, maintainers of superstition, and by oath, interest and inclination, devoted to the Pope: He determined to lessen their number. But, threatned by the Pope, insulted by Pole, and provoked by these monastic orders, he still kept his temper, took the best advice, and went about it with great deliberation. As this King had an able head, and an honest heart, it was not his way to bounce about prerogative, and insult his people, but to inform their understanding, and then — “ If you think proper, let it be so.” And such the general opinion of the honour, abilities,

lities, integrity, and good intentions of this great prince, that his will was generally acquiesced in, as the rule of right. Thus it was proposed in council, to suppress all the monasteries at once: But upon hearing both sides, he perceived such a step would greatly offend his people. To give them therefore a more just notion of monks and nuns, he caused a general visitation of their houses. The management whereof he committed to Thomas lord Cromwel, who appointed commissioners, with orders to carry along with them the concurrence of the gentry near them. Great complaints were made of these visitors. We must allow losers liberty to complain. But as the neighbouring gentry concurred with them:—As their report was published, and in a catholic kingdom, and which report, when read, influenced both houses readily to suppress all monasteries under two hun-

dred pounds a year : It is reasonable to think the representation fair, how black soever may appear the character of the religious. General complaints are of little regard. Few go to the gallows, without heavy complaints of judge, jury, witnesses, and prosecutors.

“ The Abbot of Langden in Kent was found in bed with a whore, who went in the habit of a lay brother. In the same state was found the Prior of the crossed friars in London, and at noon day. Great factions and cruelties were found in some of these houses. But the lewdness of confessors of nunneries. — The great corruptions among them, whole houses being found almost all with child. — The dissoluteness of abbots, and the other monks and friars, not only with harlots, but married women. — Their unnatural lusts and other brutish practices, are not fit
to

to be spoken of. The greatest part of this report is lost. Only a report of one hundred and forty-four houses is yet extant, which contains abominations equal to any in Sodom (b)."

(b) Burnet.

SECT.

S E C T. XV.

Queen Catharine dies. Her character.

IN 1536 died Catharine, late wife of the two royal brothers Arthur and Henry. Who seems to have been one of your good sort of women.—A commendable housewife, that would sew amongst her maidens. Devout in her way, yet content with five hundred masses for her soul. Whereas the mother of Lewis XIV. thought it safest and best, to leave pay for ten thousand of them for herself. Solemn, obstinate, peevish, not tempting nor tempted. Henry was tenderly affected at her death, and shed tears. Fond he had been of her in his youth, and always treated her with respect.

S E C T.

S E C T. XVI.

Queen Anne Bollen beheaded. Her dying speech and character. Henry marries Jane Seymour.

NOT long did Anne Bollen survive her rival Catharine. She miscarried of a dead son, which made Henry fear God was not pleased with the marriage. Perhaps his delicacy was affected, as her head certainly was by vapours, or fits of the mother. He, at the same time, was in love with Jane Seymour. The popish party hated Anne, as a favourer of the reformation and supplanter of Catharine. She was affable, chearful, gay, coquetish. Tales were carried. And “to the jealous, trifles, light as air, are confirmations strong as proofs of holy writ.” She was therefore suddenly seized, sent to the tower, and accused of criminal commerce with four others besides her brother. The evidence was, the declaration of a dead woman, but whether forged or real is not known;

known ; nor is it certain, whether Smeton the musician confessed guilt or not : The rest most certainly denied the charge to the last. Against her brother, nothing was alledged, but that he was seen leaning upon her bed ; yet they were all condemned and executed. She was confronted by none of them. Was tried only by twenty-six peers, though there were fifty-six in the kingdom. Were they a select band at known enmity to her and her principles ? Or would they do what they thought would please ? Or was the king unwilling the infamy of his family should be too particularly searched into and divulged ? The poor man was almost besides himself, and with reason. Had he endured a seven years servitude to obtain her, and at the expence of a million, with infinite abuse ? Had he raised her from a private station to the first throne in Europe, to introduce a spurious issue, to give occasion for joy and triumph to his inveterate enemies,

and

and to yield an endless topic for judgment-mongers to descant upon? All things considered, one can hardly conceive a case more distressful than his. In such an excess of anguish, no other way seems left to recover the understanding, but that which he took, of falling into the arms of the fairest of the fairest work of the creation. Which he did the very day after Anne was executed, by marrying Jane Seymour. And that charmer greatly soothed his passion, composed his distracted mind, brought him to himself, and in due time, blessed him with the loveliest boy upon earth, an undoubted heir to his crown, who succeeded him by the name of Edward VI. But the mother was no more. Not ripped up, as shameless calumny reports. For she was safely delivered, but died in a few days after, much beloved, and greatly regretted by her royal consort.

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However innocent queen Anne Bollen was, the King doubtless believed her guilty. What motives her judges had to confirm him in that belief, is not in our power to find out. For though "he had cast his affection on Jane Seymour, yet, whether this alone was sufficient to procure Anne's death, may be doubted in this prince. For I do not find him bloody, but where law or pretexts drawn from it, countenanced his action," saith lord Herbert.

And though convinced in his own mind of her guilt, and full of rage, disdain, indignation and resentment; yet he did not assassinate, did not poison, but left her to the judgment of twenty-six of the prime nobility, at the head of which was Norfolk, her uncle. A right honourable jury surely! yet, probable it is, that party, under the name of religion, induced them to condemn the innocent, against their better knowledge.

ledge. This farther is to be said in Henry's praise, that though enraged almost to madness against the mother, yet her little daughter Elizabeth retained his favour and affection, and continued to be educated at court, in the politest manner.

This unfortunate queen, by the father's side, descended from the earls of Ormond: by the mother's, from the house of Norfolk. Of singular beauty from her childhood. Her parents, besides the ordinary part of virtuous education, had her taught in music, to dance and sing, insomuch that when she composed her hands to play, and voice to sing, it was joined with that sweetness of countenance, that three harmonies concurred.

Lying father Sanders traduces her from the cradle to the grave, and makes her, and with equal truth, even
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as defective in beauty as in virtue. But Herbert says, "she certainly had lived, as well in the French court as this, with the reputation of a virtuous lady." Her dying speech is singularly modest and affecting.

"Friends and good christian people, I am here in your presence to suffer death, whereto I acknowledge myself adjudged by the laws; how justly I will not say, for I intend not an accusation of any one. I beseech the Almighty to preserve his majesty long to reign over you. A more gentle, or mild prince never swayed sceptre; his bounty and clemency towards me, I am sure hath been especial. If any one intend an inquisitive survey of my actions, I intreat him to judge favourably of me, and not rashly to admit of any hard censorious conceit. And so I bid the world farewell, beseeching you to commend me in your prayers to God. To thee,
O Lord,

“O Lord, do I commend my soul.” Then kneeling down, she incessantly repeated those words. “Christ have mercy on my soul. Lord Jesus receive my soul;” till the executioner smote off her head.

And thus ended the queen, lamented by many, both as she was desirous to advance learned men; and was a great alms-giver. Inasmuch as she is said, in three quarters of a year, to have bestowed fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds in this kind, besides money intended by her, towards raising a stock for poor artificers.

There is a letter to the King from the tower, still extant in the Cotton Library, as written by her own hand, inserted in No. 397 of the Spectator, which can hardly fail to give uncommon emotion to every humane breast. Perhaps the King never saw it. It was found in Cromwel’s study. Its being
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in a different strain from her other compositions, is no evidence against its being genuine. Her circumstances and temper were different to what they had ever been, which have great influence over our style and manner of expression.

Godwin imputes her fall, "in a great measure, to the treacherous calumnies of the malicious popelings." And indeed they have had no regard to truth or probability. Even upon the scaffold they represented her in a rage, and vauntingly saying to the people, rejoicing at her calamity, she would die their queen in spite of them: and then direct our view to the admired Catharine. Whereas she was beheaded in the tower, all strangers were turned out, and none but a few courtiers, and city magistrates present.

SECT.

S E C T. XVII.

The reformation not concerned in Anne's Character, nor in that of Henry or his ministers. Bad men instruments of good. Instances.

BUT to blacken heretics, gives ease in the spleen, yields all the pleasure of revenge, and greatly merits, as being one of the best apologies for their catholic religion, as if none but the abandoned could desert it. But supposing this queen as profligate, as the most impudent malice can paint her: we are no further concerned in her character, than as common justice obliges us to vindicate injured innocence; as we by no means allow our faith to stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God. So that Pole's trumpeter yields but an empty sound, when he says, "No instances can be given, of the Supreme Being
re-

revealing truths unknown to all ages, or reclaiming from degeneracy, by such as Henry, and his ministers." This mighty puffer has forgot, I suppose, that the furious Jehu burnt images, broke down the house of Baal, made it a draught house, and destroyed Baal out of Israel, yet departed not from the sins of Jeroboam : 2 Kings x. Were none but the perfect, employed in erecting the tabernacle ? Was holy Constantine clear from the blood of his wife's father, his sister's husband, his wife, and his son ? Did not the brave, voluptuous, ignorant, and orthodox, Theodosius murder six or seven thousand, perhaps double that number, without judge or jury, only for insulting a sorry statue ? Had David no faults, who yet established the Jewish church according to the divine will, perhaps on that account alone, called the man after God's own heart ? Did not Solomon build the temple, yet the most

most ungrateful, wicked, wifest fool we know? Was not the holy catholic, apostolic, roman religion, preserved in the kingdoms wherein it is preserved, by perfidy, massacres, and inquisition? Have the pretended vicars of Christ been men of unexceptionable characters? Have they had the bowels, the compassion of other men? Would an unchained devil have wrought more destruction upon earth, than St. Dominick, and an whole bead role of those vicars have wrought? even Judas taught the truth: And Balaam was a true prophet. Admitting then that Henry, and his ministers, were involved in all that blackness and darkness, ascribed to them by the most foul-mouthed, furious, and implacable of men, still might they remain qualified to wash a dirty face, or point out the corruptions of popery. But little, if at all, concerned is the reformation in the real character of Henry or his ministers.

nisters. Truth is truth from whatever mouth it proceeds. But they were none of us. As far as they went, is merit confessed in an adversary. The Pope's power was abolished, and monasteries thrown down, by a king, lords, commons, bishops, that were papists. A common nuisance were they, that stunk in the nostrils of their own people, too offensive to be borne any longer. "Henry, saith the illustrious Thuanus, richly endowed with every gift of nature, assumed the supremacy, but altered no point of doctrine; and learned and good, for the most part, were the bishops made by him." As to truths unknown to all ages, we affirm not such to be revealed to Henry or his ministers, or to any of our reformers. But that they adhered to truths revealed in scripture, and rejected their opposite falsehoods, introduced by popery.

S E C T.

S E C T. XVIII.

Consecrations not inalienable. Papists great church-robbers.

TH E same formal biographer, with his usual truth and confidence, avers, that “ All religions, natural and revealed, true and false, have constantly supposed consecrations made to the Supreme Being, to be of a real and perpetual nature.” Does he not know, that the Jews had orders, to destroy all places and things consecrated by the Gentiles. — That the Chaldeans and Romans burnt the temple at Jerusalem. — That the Christians, as soon as in their power, secularized and destroyed things consecrated by the Heathen. — And to mention no more, that Lewis XIV. demolished thousands of the protestant churches, which undoubtedly were consecrated to the Supreme Being, and to

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him only. Whereas monasteries, are houses with large estates annexed, fraudulently perverted from their rightful heirs, to maintain a set of idle, mischievous people, upon that absurd, and ridiculous condition, of delivering dead folks from pains, they do not feel, or if they do feel, from which they cannot deliver them. So that granting king and parliament to have no right to suppress those houses of ill-fame, the consequence will be only this, That what was got by fraud, was lost by violence: or, in more homely phrase, what came over the devil's back, went under the devil's belly.

But who would not grieve, should the vicars of Christ themselves be guilty of such tremendous sacrilege? yet true it is, that pope Clement VII. gave the Spaniards licence to alienate ecclesiastical goods and possessions, to the value
of

of six hundred thousand crowns. (o) Pole's patron, Pope Paul III. gave Charles a moiety of one years revenue of the benefices in Spain, with power to alienate one hundred thousand crowns-worth of church lands, (p) and for so pious a purpose, as to enable him to go to war with the German protestants. Clement V. also had the whole order of Templers seized, racked to a confession of most horrid crimes, fifty-seven of them burnt at Paris, the rest imprisoned, their estates given to the knights of Malta, or reserved by their respective kings, to their own use.—Clement VII. gave cardinal Wolfey leave to suppress forty convents, to build and endow his two colleges.—And the said cardinal Wolfey had an intent to suppress all of them, though far enough removed from any respect for protestants. It was likewise his intent to visit them,

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in

(o) Herbert.

(p) Rapin.

in order to bring to light their hidden works of darkness. So that Henry only executed, what that able cardinal, and worthy member of the sacred college designed.

And indeed, were matters fairly looked into, it would appear, that protestants alone, did not rob the church, but that the grand pillagers were papists themselves. The first reformers complain bitterly of the epidemic sin of sacrilege. Those good men came in for none of the plunder: they drew away indeed the peoples affection from the popish clergy, and thereby, as it were, tied their hands behind them, and gave their nobility and gentry an opportunity to strip them, and then to recover those estates, of which their silly ancestors had been defrauded. Nay, even popish bishops, abbots, &c. had their hands as deep in the mire as any others. Seeing a different people likely to succeed them, they endeavoured to leave them

as poor as possible. So rapacious, for instance, were they in Scotland, as not to leave above three or four thousand pounds a year, for the support and maintenance of the whole national church.

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SECT.

S E C T. XIX.

The advantages of religious houses considered.

Odious to papists themselves. Instances.

BUT monasteries, it seems, "were a provision for younger children." Better is it for them, and for the state, that they should be put to trades, to merchandize, or agriculture. As likewise as St. Paul ordains, "for the younger women to marry, bear children, guide the house, and give none occasion of reproach." Lord Cromwel used to say, he only restored monks and nuns to their first institution of being lay and labouring people: and as to austerity and strictness of life, to which they pretended, they might keep that, in any condition. "But they were hospitable to noblemen and gentlemen." These needed not their hospitality. The best place is home. — "Kept an old servant or two of their founder's family, paid

paid for the eldest son's knighthood, and fortun'd the eldest daughter."—Important things truly! *id populus curet scilicet*. Had their ancestor been in his senses, would he have fooled away an estate, that might have fortun'd all his posterity? — "Near three hundred halls, and private schools in Oxford, supplied with students, from them." — Hence the necessity of fraud, imposition, and a corrupt religion, to maintain such a troop in idleness. Thus one chantry at Coventry maintained no less than six priests, whose only business was to celebrate mass, that is, to worship and eat a piece of bread, and drink wine, with much whimsical action, and some good, and some bad words interspersed, and all this for the repose of the souls of the king's ancestors. — Lord! what is man that can teach or believe a whim-wham so much below contempt! But the fi-

nishing stroke is, — “ They gave alms, so as to supercede poor’s rates, which now annually amount to eight hundred thousand pounds.” The case is this. They gave their scraps at their gates, as others did; and the custom then was, that the necessitous must either beg, or steal, or starve. By act 22. H. 8. cap. 12. justices of peace, mayors, bailiffs, &c. were to inquire after all aged, poor, and impotent persons who lived, or of necessity were compelled to live, by alms of the charity of the people, and were (not to send them to be kept by monasteries, but) to give them a licence under their hand and seal, to beg; limiting them to certain districts; out of which limits, if they were found begging, they were ordered to be stripped to the waste, and to be whipped. This was the happy case of the old, poor and infirm, when monasteries were in their full glory; now as the honest poor knew they must
either

either be beggars upon record, or starve, this might make them more careful in youth, to lay up something against an evil day; it would also induce children to help their parents, rather than see them turned a drift at that time of life. And the modest and resigned, and the proud and high-minded would sooner pine and die, than submit to such a disgrace. And hence no poor's rates, not from monastic charity. Protestant humanity and benevolence introduced poor's rates, as judging it more becoming a christian, to support their necessitous neighbours in their own cottages, rather than send them a begging, when worn out with age, want and infirmities. This admirable institution is now greatly abused, but what good thing is there in this life, without its inconveniences?

But the complaints, clamours and excuses, of modern whiffers, whether

catholic, or heretic, should be looked upon with contempt, when we behold cotemporaries, of the best family, fortune and understanding, who knew these houses well, and manner of them, (the prejudices of whose education must be strong in their favour, and who continued zealous members of the Roman church, yet) considering them as common nuisances, that ought to stand no longer. The King speaks full to the purpose, in his answer to the Lincolnshire rebels that they “ were suppressed by law, and the heads of them had, under their hands, confessed such horrid scandals, that they were a reproach to the nation; and since in many of them, there were not above four, and that they wasted their rents in riotous living, it was much better to apply them to the common good of the nation, than to leave them in such hands (p).”

The

The sensible part of mankind knew the ill effects of them long before Henry VIII. and eagerly pressed their demolition. In 1403 the commons in a body, set forth to Henry IV. "That the clergy possessed a third part of the lands of the kingdom. — That their riches made them neglect their duty, and that the lessening them would be a double advantage to the state and church." — Another house of commons in 1408 set forth, to the same king, "that the clergy made an ill use of their riches. — That their revenues were excessive. — That so many estates might be seized, as would provide for one hundred and fifty earls, fifteen hundred barons, six thousand two hundred knights, and one hundred hospitals: By which means the kingdom's safety would be better provided for; the poor better maintained; and the clergy more attached to their duty." The same business was again urged, by another house

house of commons, in 1414, to Henry V. who added to the provisions above-mentioned, "that twenty thousand pounds might be brought into the king's treasure. And that besides the foresaid sum, divers religious houses possessed as many temporalities, as would maintain fifteen thousand priests and clerks."

Pray observe, that this enormous sacrilege was intended by an house of commons, not packt, not pensioned, not influenced by a court, not poisoned with heresy; but was the free act and deed, of a set of the most burning catholics, that were ever assembled in this kingdom. To them was holy church indebted for that salutary law, "that all magistrates should take an oath to employ their power, to extirpate heretics; and that whoever read the scriptures in English, should forfeit lands, chattels, goods, and life, and be condemned as heretics to God, enemies to the

the crown, and traitors to the kingdom; that they should not have the benefit of sanctuary; and if they continued obstinate, or relapsed after pardon, they should first be hanged for treason against the king; and then burned for heresy against God."—For my part, I am under no sort of doubt, but that the French catholic parliaments at this time, would make as free with religious houses, as the English catholic parliaments did in the sixteenth century, had Lewis XV. the same capacity and courage to support them, as Henry VIII. was endued with. They must be very ignorant, or endued with the true spirit of faction, that can believe heretics to be the only robbers of churches.

SECT.

S E C T. XX.

Henry's wise and pious intentions of disposing of the incomes of religious houses, frustrated by faction and rebellion.

THE preamble to the bill for erecting new bishopricks sets forth, “ that the ill lives of those called religious, made it necessary to change their houses to better uses, to teach the word of God,—instructing children, and educating clerks, — relieving old infirm people,—endowing of readers, for Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, — mending highways, — and bettering the condition of parish priests.”— And Henry's intentions were upright, and for the good of his people : But the nation was too full of such incendiaries as Pole, to suffer him to bring them into execution. Even GEORGE III. a prince so truly virtuous, so perfectly well disposed, that would gladly ease his people of every burden,

burden, yet finds it expedient to be at the annual expence of three or four hundred pounds, to keep a forry scribbler from fouling his fingers; to restrain a knave, from setting fools a madding.

All monasteries under two hundred pounds a year being suppressed, — their heads pensioned, — their members sent into the larger monasteries, — or having their liberty with forty shillings, and a gown, — according to their respective choice (not racked and burnt, like the poor Templers, suppressed by authority of the Pope.) Rome, and her emissaries, monks, priests, and bigots, so inflamed the people, that twenty thousand of them rose in Lincolnshire. But the King sending them secret assurances of mercy, they returned to their own homes. At the same time forty thousand were got together in Yorkshire, who called their march the
pilgri-

pilgrimage of grace; and had in their banners, and on their sleeves, the five wounds of Christ.

What dignity was there in this prince, how amazing his authority! Here are forty thousand in arms, fired with a religious zeal, conducted by an able commander. Henry sent against them only five thousand, and those papists, headed by Norfolk, a hearty well-wisher to the rebels and their cause, he sends withall to them a general pardon. These likewise willingly lay hold of it, and all that the clergy and their other chiefs could do, had no other effect, but to keep so many of them together, as to make them forfeit that pardon. But after a few skirmishes they were entirely dispersed, their ringleaders executed, and all was quiet.

This apparent disaffection, and the expence it put him to, prevented Henry's

ry's good designs. However he endowed six new bishopricks, and several collegiate churches; appointed five hundred and fifty pounds a year in several cathedrals for the poor, and about four hundred pounds for the highways; founded Christ - Church hospital, and built divers forts on the sea coasts, which remain to this day. And tho' all colleges in general were given him by act of parliament, yet so far was he from meddling with any of those in our two universities, that Trinity in Cambridge, and Christ Church in Oxford own him for their founder. And as he generously accepted of none of them, when they were all legally presented to him; common justice ought to acknowledge this great, this magnanimous hero, to be the munificent founder of the whole. But to preserve the public peace, to render the cause of monasteries hopeless, and to prevent any future return of those caterpillers, he obliged some
bishops

bishops to exchange their antient domains for abbey lands, and distributed, or sold, at an easy rate, a large part of them to the great and powerful, in order to make it their interest to cooperate with him, and to maintain, confirm, and establish, the happy changes made by him. Had the tenth part of this immense wealth fallen into the hands of some of his applauded successors, we had at this day, been as senseless bigots as the Portuguese, and more abject slaves than those of Barbary.

SECT.

S E C T. XXI.

*Henry determines to suppress all of them.
Exposes their impostures. Instances of them.*

HENRY convinced, that the religious were a people, whom no oaths could bind, unalterable in their attachments to the Pope, restless in their attempts to excite a rebellion, and that there was no end or measures of their railing and calumnies against him, determined not to leave a monastery in the kingdom. But “ knowing that the pretended and false miracles of priests, had seduced many ignorant people, to a superstitious obedience to the Romish see, and reverence of monasteries; he resolved to detect as many of them as he could. For divers were so cunningly represented, as to have kept their credit for some ages, the manner of those times being, that if a man was restored to health upon a pilgrimage, or obtained

tained any thing he desired upon a vow to some saint, never to study any other cause”.

“ And here out of our records, I shall mention some of the images and relicks, faith Herbert, to which the pilgrimages of those times brought devotion and offerings.”

“ Our Lady’s girdle shewn in eleven places, and her milk in eight. The bell of St. Guthlack, and the belt of St. Thomas at Lancaster, both remedies for the head-ache. The pen-knife and books of St. Thomas at Canterbury, and a piece of his shirt, much revered by big-bellied women. (What insolent prophaness! Do you not observe the arch leer upon the rascal’s face that shews it, upon seeing the pretty filly creatures devoutly kissing the nauseous rag?) The coals that roasted St. Laurence; two or three heads of St. Urfula;

Ursula ; Malchus's ear ; the parings of St. Edmund's nails ; the image of an angel with one wing, which brought here the spear's head that pierced Christ's side ; an image of our Lady, with a taper in her hand, which burnt nine years together without waisting, till one forswearing himself thereon, it went out ; and was now found to be but a piece of wood ; two notable trumperies more, I cannot omit, one, the rood of grace, at Beezly in Kent, made up with divers wires, to turn the eyes, and move the lips, was shewed at Paul's Cross, by the Bishop of Rochester, and pulled in pieces. The other was at Hales in Gloucestershire ; where the blood of Jesus Christ, brought from Jerusalem, being kept, as was confirmed, for divers ages, had drawn many great offerings to it, from remote places. And it was said to have this property, that a man in mortal sin, not absolved, could not see it, otherwise he could. Every one there-
fore

fore that came to behold this miracle, confessed himself first to a priest there, and then offering something upon the altar, was directed to the chappel, where the relick was shewed; the priest who confessed him, mean while, retiring to the back of the said chappel, and putting forth upon the altar a cabinet or tabernacle of chrystal, which, being thick on one side, that nothing could be seen, through it, but on the other side thin and transparent, they used diversly. If a rich and devout man entered, they shewed the thick side, till he had paid for as many masses, and given as large alms, as they thought fit; after which, to his great joy, they permitted him to see the thin side, and the blood, which proved to be the blood of a duck, every week renewed, by two priests, who kept the secret between them. (And such thy boasted miracles, O Rome!) Besides these, the images of our Lady of Walsingham, Penrife, Islington, and St.

St. John of Ofulston, who was said to shut up the devil in a boot, &c. were publicly burnt. And by this means, the monasteries grew infamous, and the people were undeceived."

SECT.

S E C T. XXII.

Henry's sincerity and clemency compared with Lewis XIV. and Charles II. The number of these houses. Their revenues, according to Herbert, and Hume.

AS to the precise annual rents of these monasteries, authors differ. One says, they were one hundred and thirty five thousand five hundred and twenty two pounds; the highest account I have met with is, one hundred and sixty one thousand pounds. The number of those under two hundred pounds a year, was three hundred and seventy six. Great ones in England and Wales, were above seven hundred. In the small ones, saith Burnet, were ten thousand people. The great ones must contain thrice that number; in all, forty thousand. These had pensions for life, proportioned to the value of their houses and their innocence. The Abbots of St. Alban's and Tewkesbury had four hundred

hundred marks a year. The Abbot of St. Edmondsbury had five hundred marks. The inferior governors had some thirty, twenty, or ten pounds pension. And the monks had generally six pounds or eight marks a-piece. The nuns had four pounds. Let us allot them one with another six pounds a-piece. Forty thousand multiplied by six, amounts to two hundred and forty thousand. Here then is about one hundred thousand pounds to be paid annually, more than the annual rents amount to. This we will suppose must be raised out of the fines as they became due. Let it be considered that the lowest of these pensions, as money now goes, was worth above forty pounds a year. The highest was above two thousand: That all these pensioners were maids and bachelors, and had therefore no families to provide for; and that these pensions altogether at this day, would amount annually

F

ually to above two millions and a half sterling.

Consider the precarious title; the incumbrances; the clamour about sacrilege; the croaking of judgment-mongers; money at twelve per cent; and then calculate what these lands would sell for, and perhaps you will be convinced, that Henry disposed of them, as well as circumstances would permit. That he was not so great a squanderer as is represented; and that avarice was not his sole motive for demolishing those houses of corruption, those monuments of antient folly.

To destroy the means of papal usurpation, to assert the independency of his crown and kingdom, to expel fraud, church tyranny, and superstition, and to open a way for the return of antient truths, and primitive christianity, were views worthy the honest, open, discerning, intrepid soul of Henry.

But

But permit me to direct your view to monastic pensioners, with liberty to reside where they pleased, and to dispose of themselves as they thought fit, with an allowance, which would at this day, amount annually, to two millions and an half sterling! Generous prince! The greatest, the best, the most truly serviceably to his country, of all the Kings of England, from Alfred the great, to William III. Did Lewis le grand treat his Protestant clergy thus? after he had pulled down their churches, were they not obliged to starve in foreign countries, or be hanged in their own? Did our Charles II. shew such favour to those unhappy men, who could not submit to the Act of Uniformity? Were they not sent away penniless with their numerous families; and, left their old friends and acquaintance should administer relief, not suffered to live within five miles of their usual abode, or of any corporation? — But I and my friends felt it not: — A restless faction

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met with their deserts. — And great, good, and just were their oppressors. — Even our Mary, whose very substance seems to have been a lump of clay kneaded in blood, is yet handed down to posterity, as the most excellent and best of women; and as Pole died sixteen hours after her, if his secretary Becatelli does not lie, she was attended by him into the seats of the blessed. Thus right and wrong; good and evil are vague terms, that derive their distinct meaning from party only.

But not to ascribe to Henry more merit than is due to him, these monasteries were really worth much more than they seemed to be. For the custom of the church was, not to raise their rents, but to exact large fines, at the renewal of their leases. Supposing then with Burnet, that their rents were only the tenth part of their value, they must in the whole, amount to a million and
an

an half, taking one year with another. The remainder of the kingdom, Hume tell us, was then reckoned worth three millions yearly. So that Herbert's observation is just, that the monasteries were the third or fourth part of the revenues of the land. Though the said Mr. Hume avers, with his usual confidence, that they were not the twentieth part.

S E C T. XXIII.

Remarks upon Hume. His fraud or errors in regard to the supremacy.

HUME may be no enthusiast. But there are other prejudices incident to mortals, which Hume is not exempt from. *Dum stulti vitant vitia in contraria currunt.* i. e. Whilst fools shun one vice, they run into its opposite. Now fools are of two sorts: One a fool of parts, the other without any: One of no understanding, the other of a depraved one. The judicious reader will consider his diminishing the value of abbey lands, and the number of the murdered in the Irish massacre. His no popish plot, and shameful abuse of that great and able patriot Shaftsbury. His ascribing virtues to his royal countrymen they never had, palliating faults, and concealing matters of importance. And, if something like truth appears,
his

his loading men and things with epithets, to pervert the judgment, and lead into error. He, and his friend Hyde, have a peculiar knack that way.—An iniquitous practice, disdained by Greek and Roman historians, and which none but Baronius, and such wretched tools to faction ever fell into.

But what evidently proves that Hume has only made an exchange of prejudice, and that with as little judgment, as the Lycian chief in Homer, who changed armour of gold for that of brass, is, his false and truly catholic assertion, that “the supremacy is a political opinion, in no wise affecting the King’s temporal right.” I suppose he means, the Pope might be supreme in spirituals, without prejudice to the King in temporals. But is Hume perfectly acquainted with the distinct province of spirituals and temporals? Can he assign such boundaries to them, as King and Pope shall acquiesce in?

S E C T. XXIV.

Becket's quarrel with Henry II. Murdered. Canonized. Declared a perfidious rebel, and his shrine rifled.

THE chief justice complained to King Henry II. that clergymen had committed above one hundred murders in his reign; for which facts not one was punished so much as with degradation. And the King's courts had nothing to do with them, unless guilty of a second murder.—A layman murders another and is hanged; a priest murders another and becomes a layman! wonderful privilege! Is murder a spiritual or temporal affair? Is it not the King's right, is it not his duty to redress the injured, and to punish the evil doer?—Does not that canon or bull “that no clergyman should pay aid or subsidy to any temporal magistrate, without the Pope's licence,”
affect

affect the King's temporal right?—Two supremacies in one state, are things not easy to be conceived, are a government within a government, and lay people under the necessity of serving two masters, whose interest seldom coincide. “Under God, our universal Lord, said Archbishop Winchelsea to Edward I. we have two other lords, a spiritual lord the Pope, and a temporal lord the King. And though we be to obey both, yet rather the spiritual lord, than the temporal.”

This impious claim of screening murderous ecclesiastics from deserved punishment, occasioned the quarrel between Henry II. and Thomas Becket. A priest in Worcestershire, debauched a farmer's daughter and murdered her father. Henry insisted upon the villain's being given up to the law: Becket ordered him to be kept in the bishop's prison.—Another priest for murder, was

suspended and banished by Becket for one year. Henry expostulated with him for punishing so slightly a capital offender. Becket replied, " An ecclesiastic ought not to be put to death for *any offence*; that he would never allow the clergy should be tried in any but ecclesiastical courts. If they were there condemned to be degraded, and afterwards they committed any crime, the King's judges might then punish as they thought fit." The King assembled the lords spiritual and temporal, complained of this abuse, and proposed a regulation of several particulars, whereof one was, that all clergymen, charged with capital crimes, should be tried in the King's courts. The temporal lords readily agreed, and Becket gave his consent. He had them afterwards confirmed by a parliament at Clarendon: Here again Becket complied, some say signed, some say sweared to them. Henry, had a mind to have them confirmed by the Pope;
 ill-

ill-judged expedient! What had he to do with acts of parliament? was it not in effect to resign the crown, and own himself a vassal? Was there not a wise man amongst them, to put the King in mind, that about seventy years before Becket made that disturbance, in the reign of William Rufus, all the bishops in the realm, but one, had so great a contempt for his holiness, that they judged St. Anselm guilty of high-treason, for attempting to deprive the crown of sundry royal prerogatives belonging to it, viz. "That no archbishop or bishop of the kingdom, should be subject to the Pope or court of Rome, with whom they had nothing to do. That none should appeal to Rome in any case without the King's licence;" and for siding with the Pope, and preferring him above his sovereign.

These constitutions at Clarendon, the Pope condemned as destructive of the churches

churches privileges. Becket thus assured of the Pope's protection, grew more saucy and audacious, he repented of his compliance, suspended himself; and would not discharge any episcopal functions, till absolved from that sin by the Pope. This was soon done. The King has him prosecuted before a great council. He refused to answer before laymen. That court considered him as guilty of perjury. He declared the peers had no authority to judge him, appealed to the Pope, and fled out of the kingdom in disguise. The French King with pleasure hears the quarrel was not likely to be made up, sends him an offer of refuge and protection. Thus backed by France and Rome, impudence herself would have blushed at Becket's behaviour to his sovereign; yet for all this, such was the power of the clergy, the ignorance of the people, and easiness of the prince, he was again suffered to return to Canterbury, where he no sooner

fooner arrived, than with undiminished pride, he throws about the thunder of his excommunications against those he did not like. One of which, a man of fortune and high birth, and an immediate vassal of the King's, was guilty of so damnable a sin, as to cut off the tail of a horse, that was carrying provisions to his palace.

The poor wretches, thus consigned to the devil by Thomas-a-Becket, make their complaints to the King. "How unhappy am I, (cried he,) that amongst the many numbers I maintain, not one will avenge the affronts I perpetually receive from a wretched priest!" Four of his domestics hearing this, determine to dispatch him, which they execute at the altar in the cathedral at Canterbury. The manner of his death, occasioned by his support of those flagitious privileges of the clergy, called the cause of God, contributed such sanctity to this haughty, shuffling, perjured

jured rebel, that there was not a minister
 in the court of heaven in higher favour
 or that had greater interest in the King
 thereof than Becket. Miracles upon mi-
 racles, were wrought by him. When
 exposed to view in the church, be-
 fore he was buried, he rose out of
 his coffin, and lighted the candles that
 were set up there. And, after the fu-
 neral service was over, held up his
 hand to bless the people. He raised
 also even beasts from the dead, &c.
 &c. Upon such miracles, well attest-
 ed, the Pope could do no less than
 canonize him, he did so, and Becket
 became a saint, by the stile and title
 of St. Thomas of Canterbury. His al-
 tar drew more oblations than those of
 Christ or the Virgin. In one year three
 pounds two shillings and six-pence; in
 another, not a penny, was offered at
 Christ's altar. In one year sixty-three
 pounds four and six-pence; in another,
 four pounds one shilling and eight-pence,
 were offered at the Virgin's. But in those
 very

years, eight hundred thirty-two pounds twelve shillings and three-pence ; and nine hundred sixty-four pounds six and three-pence were offered at Becket's altar. So that if we come to estimate the devotion of catholicks to Becket, compared with that to Christ, the excess will be on Becket's side, pretty near the proportion of one thousand to nothing. Even the Mother of God herself, stands lower than Becket, by nine hundred and sixty degrees.—He had two holy days, and every fourth year was a jubilee, and indulgence, to all that visited his tomb : On which occasion, there were thought to be not less than one hundred thousand pilgrims, fifty thousand of which, in 1420. were foreigners.

Nothing sets man in so despicable a light as superstition. The poor creature will not believe his hat to be a coach and six, but he believes TRANSUB-
STANTIATION,

STANTIATION, will burn his own children to appease the anger of his God; will leave his habitation, and ramble over half the globe to see and reverence some sacred leg; or the place where some stinking carcase has been deposited; or to offer up prayers, praise, and thanks to a dead sinner, who has long been receiving the just recompence and reward for his evil deeds.

Amongst other votaries, his late friend, the French King made him a visit, and presented him with a diamond, then thought to be the finest in Europe. In such esteem was his saintship, so numerous were the offerings made him, that his shrine became of inestimable value. But Henry VIII. made all this glory to cease; struck him out of the calender; had him tried and condemned as a perfidious rebel; dug up his bones, and had them either burnt, or mingled with other bones, that they might not be used to super-

superstitious purposes; brake in pieces his shrine, the gold of which was so heavy, that it filled two chests, which took eight men each to carry them out of the church: And the French diamond he had set in a ring, which he used to wear upon his thumb.

Illustrious Henry! How truly great thy spirit! how exempt from superstition! How regardless of defamatory tongues! Had that sacrilegious thumb festered, had it mortified, been even seized by the gout, or met with any common disaster, how great the miracle, how great the triumph of St. Thomas of Canterbury! But that the thumb did otherwise than well, does not appear by any monkish manuscript hitherto brought to light.

S E C T.

S E C T. XXV.

*The Bull of excommunication published: And
brief to the king of Scotland. The Pope's
supremacy truly stated. More remarks
upon Hume.*

THIS last atchievement of our hero, set Rome in a flame; and her libels flew abroad. To be at war with Christ's vicar on earth, and his saints in heaven! "A sacrilegious tyrant: — A Pharaoh, Belshazzar, Nero, Julian,—only worse than they!" The stile was thought to be Pole's. He was known to encourage them, which raised in Henry that aversion his base behaviour merited. And the Pope now published his bull of excommunication, which had been drawn up three years before. And pray consider the pretensions, and amazing impudence of that assuming bully.

He pretended, that, "as God's vicar, he had power to root out, and to destroy

froy ; and had authority over all the
 kings in the world : and therefore, after
 enumerating all the king's crimes, par-
 ticularly that of disturbing Becket's
 bones, he required him to appear with-
 in ninety days at Rome, either by per-
 son or by proxy ; and all his com-
 plices within fixty days ; and if he
 and they did not appear ; he declared
 him to have fallen from his crown ;
 and them from their estates. He put
 the kingdom under an interdict, and
 absolved his subjects from their oaths
 of allegiance : declared him and his
 complices infamous ; put their children
 under incapacities, required all the
 clergy to go out of England within
 five days after the time prefixed, should
 expire, leaving only so many as might
 serve to baptize children, and give
 the sacrament to such as died in peni-
 tence. He charged all his subjects to
 rise in arms against him ; and that none
 should assist him ; he absolved all princes
 from

from their confederacies with him, and obtested them to have no more commerce with him. Required all christians to make war on him; and to seize on the persons and goods of all his subjects, and make slaves of them. And charged all bishops to publish the sentence with due solemnity, and ordained it to be affixed at Rome, Tournay and Dunkirk."

Thus did that man of sin swagger and exalt himself above all that is called God, i. e. magistrates, princes and kings; and through the delusion of some, and interested views of others, has he had influence enough to do infinite mischief, and shed an ocean of blood: not less than two millions, six hundred and fifty thousand Protestants, have been destroyed by popish persecutions and massacres, besides what they have cut off in France, Piedmont, Germany and Hungary, in the late persecution, according to the cal-

calculation of the reverend Mr Robert Fleming*.

Such a sentence after three years deliberation! — Was the sacred college drunk or mad all that time? Is it in a language becoming the vicar of Christ, the servant of servants, or a group of ancient priests to a king, and such a King as Henry VIII. of England. It surely breathes the air of Tophet, and is deeply tinged with the foam of Billingsgate. Yet the Pope's brief to James IV. king of Scotland, is more outrageous, more insolent, and more assuming, then even the bull itself. Take it along with yon, that this James was sister's son to Henry, was nephew to the prince insulted. The Pope had vaunted he would set all Christendom against Henry. And the emperor said, he, by the means of Scotland, would avenge his aunt's quarrel. To other princes cardinal Pole was the Pope's emissary.

* Discourses on several subjects, printed 1701.

emissary. But not daring to venture on this side the water, that impudent brief was sent by another hand. Part of which runs thus :

“ That he would assist him against Henry, whom his consistory had pronounced an heretic, a schismatic, an adulterer, a public murderer, a committer of sacrilege, a rebel and convict *læse majestatis* (that is, of high treason,) for that he had risen against his Lord; and therefore that he had justly deprived him of his kingdom, and would dispose the same to him and others, so they would assist him in the recovery of it.”

Afford, to this bull and brief, their deserved attention. Give them a second reading. They comprehend the full idea of that supremacy abolished by Henry VIII. not as painted by heretical pravity, but as defined *ex cathedra* by the head of the church infallible, confirmed

firmed by his consistory, decreed by the whole sacred college. The King of England, you see, in Romish estimation, is a subject, feodatory, vassal to their high-priest: And that Henry having been guilty of rebellion or high treason, against the majesty of the Pope, his liege Lord; his fee, i.e. his kingdom was forfeited, the crown no longer his, and his subjects as slaves to a traiterous slave, were to become the property of the captors. Is not this impudence in the extream? Is it not a claim most injurious, and such as should raise indignation and resentment in the breast of every true Englishman; Let the impartial judge, whether the community had not a right to enact by law, that an endeavour to promote so unrighteous a claim, should be a capital offence: and whether the King was unjust or cruel, in executing such a law, or suffering such miscreants to receive their reward on a scaffold, or at the gallows.

Had

Had Hume an adequate idea of the supremacy? Had he any idea of it at all? when he tells his reader, "It is a political opinion, in no wise affecting the King's temporal right." — Highly criminal the historian, who knowingly compliments a party, at the expence of truth. — Hume is a pleasing writer, dictates magisterially, retards not his reader with dull reasoning, his style animated, harmonious, well proportioned, his master Bolingbroke all over. — For light summer's reading, Hume: For reason, candor, truth, Rapin. — Not but Hume knows the arts of reasoning, has a head formed for metaphysics, can paralogize, and be as dull as common writers. His essays prove it.

S E C T.

S E C T. XXVI.

None dare to attack Henry, &c. He proves himself neither an heretic nor schismatic, by his zeal for the corporal presence. Reflections. Lambert tried, condemned, burnt for supposed errors concerning that article. Bishop Day's speech at the trial.

HENRY's courage and capacity were known. It was seen too that his clergy, if not hearty in his interest, were yet afraid to join the adversary, and that his people in general esteemed and revered him. His neighbour princes, therefore thought it the safest way, not to accept the fair inheritance, offered by their holy father; as there was no coming at it, but through the lion's mouth.

It has been for ages, one of the dishonest arts of Rome, her councils, and

G partizans,

partizans, to ascribe such tenets to their adversaries, as will render them odious; without regard to truth or probability. Thus, "Wickliff, held that God ought to obey the devil," saith the council of Constance. "Henry was a virulent Lutheran," says Onuphrius; "a schismatic and heretic," saith the Pope and his consistory. Whereas, in truth, what Henry had at heart, was the supremacy. In other respects he was still a zealous adherent to the ancient superstition, particularly in that amazing characteristic of it, *transubstantiation*, of which he gave a flagrant proof in the case of unhappy Lambert, who, by an intemperate zeal, yielded Henry an opportunity, of shewing his people the malignity, calumny, and falshood of their holy father, and his own firm adherence to their catholic church.

Dr. Taylor preached upon the corporal presence. in Lambert's hearing,
who

who drew up reasons against it, and gave them to Taylor, which he communicated to Barns, a man zealous for such a presence. By them was he brought before Cranmer, who would fain have had him retract. He refused, and appealed to the King.—Two silly geese fall out they know not why, and make the fox their umpire, Can you guess the consequence ?

How have truths revealed from heaven been perverted by human devices ? — A morsel of bread and a draught of wine, — after supper, — in a great chamber or common room, — in a private family, — to be received in memory of a most momentous event. Can you conceive a ceremony more easy, cheap, intelligible ? — Had it been so continued as to time, place, ministers, in obedience to express command by supreme authority, would the christian world have ever been in arms, ravishing, murder-

ing, burning each other, about priests, altars, sacrifices, transubstantiation, consubstantiation, corporal or real presence, masses, obits, anniversaries, purgatory? — But Jews and Gentiles had been used to sacrifices : And when converted, a sacrifice they would have, over and besides that, which God had in mercy provided for us ; which, “ once offered, hath perfected for ever, them that are sanctified.” — When Popes, fathers, and councils, shall universally fall into just contempt ; when in matters of religion, men will call no one father upon earth, having one Father which is in heaven ; when they will not admit of any other master, instructor, or guide, but whom he hath sent, who is not only the Author, but the Finisher of our faith : Then, will truth, and peace, and love, and unity flourish. “ And the kingdoms of this world, will become the kingdoms of the Lord and of his Christ ;

Christ ; and he shall reign for ever and
ever * * * * *

Lambert's appeal was received by the King ; who resolved, on this occasion, to manifest to the world, how he stood affected in religion. He therefore summoned as many bishops and peers as could conveniently be present ; and erected scaffolds in Westminster-hall. Lambert being brought to the bar, Day, Bishop of Winchester, by the King's appointment, made an oration, in which he says,

“ The tyranny of the court of Rome had been troublesome to the King's predecessors, but to him intolerable ; and therefore had he shaken it off.—That religion might no longer patronize idleness, he had expelled monks, which were no other but drones in the beehive.—He had taken away the idolatrous worship of images, and had permitted

mitted to his subjects the reading God's Word, hitherto prohibited by the church of Rome, lest their wiles and cozenage should be discovered, &c."

Such the force of truth, that even the devil himself is sometimes obliged to utter it. Day, a popish bishop, of such zeal as to be deprived of his bishoprick by Edward, and to be restored by Mary, spake this, before popish bishops, and before popish lords, in Westminster-hall, filled with papists, assembled at that very time to condemn to the flames a learned and zealous protestant.

Poor Lambert kept up the debate, with no less than ten of the ablest men of that age, of which the King was one: Who, in conclusion, asked if he was not convinced, and whether he would live or die? He persisted in his opinion, sentence was passed upon him by Cromwel, and he was burnt in
Smith-

Smithfield. There was not fire enough to consume him suddenly, so that he was alive when his legs and thighs were burnt away. He bore that inconceivable pain with patience, crying out, "none but Christ, none but Christ."

An act, so truly catholic, gained the King immense applause. Though at enmity with the Pope, he was a friend to the Romish religion, and evidenced not only the will, but the abilities to maintain it: "He was indeed the defender of the faith, as well as head of the church." Such the compliments passed upon him, and such the sentiments of the popish party, that is of the bulk of his people.

S E C T. XXVII.

The bloody statute enacted. An apology for that, and for Henry's sacrilege. Its ambiguous nature. Reflections.

THE King elate, with the figure he made in the late controversy; and the content thereby given to his catholic subjects, calls a parliament; one part of whose business was to suppress new opinions. Upon which, Norfolk, in concert with Bishop Gardiner, proposes the six articles, commonly called the bloody statute; against which Cranmer argued three days, with great strength and equal modesty, but without effect; the act was passed. Some say the King was not for it, but surprized into it by politic Gardiner. He had an unalterable esteem for Cranmer, and seeing him intirely averse to it, desired he would retire whilst the votes were passing; Cranmer humbly desired to stay to give his dissent,

dissent, as his conscience dictated, and did so. He feared he had thereby lost his majesty's favour, and was under much concern: But Henry let him know he was not offended, and ordered him to send him in writing, the arguments he had used against it.

Henry was indeed worthy of a crown. Was not afraid of truth, always kept both ears open. Determined upon good advice. And then for perseverance he hardly ever had his equal. A temper so candid, sincere, receptive of truth, I doubt not, had heaven continued his life a little longer, would have led him to a perfect reformation.

This bloody statute, or whip with six strings, enacted transubstantiation.—Communion in one kind.—Celibacy of the clergy.—That vows of chastity should be kept.—Private masses.—And auricu-

lar confession. To speak or write against the first was burning, from which even abjuration could not save. Every faction knows its own weakness. If there be an absurdity more than common; a lie that may be felt, it is pressed with the utmost vehemency, and guarded by all the terrors of this world, and of that which is to come. And indeed, not without reason. For surely it would be no small art, impudence, or force, that could introduce a belief, that a turn-pike road was no road, but only the species or appearance of a road, the substance being changed into * * * * *. A case exactly parallel with the holy doctrine of transubstantiation; he who hath said, "This is my body;" hath also said, in words as peremptory and express, "I am the way." To dispute against the other five articles was felony.

This

This whip with six strings hung over the heads of us poor hereticks with awful aspect, and is not to be mentioned without detestation and horror. Whereas, in catholick estimation, it was a most blessed act, nor was Henry's consenting to it, inferior in merit to his great performance against Luther. Had a million of us factious rascals been ruined, murdered, or expelled by it, what loads of panegyricks had been made upon Henry! pious would he have been as Philip II. beloved as Francis I. and great as that immortal man, Lewis XIV; who, to his other mighty achievements, delivered his country from heresy.

Whoever will do Henry justice, must think with temper, and consider circumstances. At variance with the head of the church, excommunicated, and deposed by an infallible authority; his kingdom under an interdict; discontented monks, friars, and nuns, dispersed into every corner

corner of it ;—the clergy apprehensive about religion, — sunk in authority, — affected in their freeholds. — The people ignorant, bred in the grossest superstition, spirited up by persons of the highest birth, largest estates, and ablest heads ; not an ally upon earth he could confide in ; — the Pope, the French King, — the King of Scots, — the Emperor, who was also King of Spain, watching an opportunity to attack him ; and Pole trotting from one to the other, carrying them every tale he could pick up or invent, and pushing them on with all the flowers of Cicero, and all the spiritual artillery, that the vatican affords. — Thus circumstanced, his own security, as well as the kingdom's peace, required he should make some extraordinary concessions. Now this whip with six strings, prepared for the backs of hereticks, satisfied his people their religion was in no danger, and thereby retained their esteem and good will, in
which

which, under God, lay all his strength, all his support. Yet this very statute, bloody as it was, put heretics upon a better footing than they were before the reign of this prince. It delivered men not up to the cruelty of ecclesiastical courts, or the trials *ex officio*, but to be tried by juries. It was rather designed to quiet the suspicions of one party, and to repress the immoderate heat of some of the other, than to be put in execution. Some indeed suffered by it: and Henry made a mighty bustle as if none should escape, but he opened the prison doors, and dismissed several without a trial. This tremendous scourge however was what, in a great measure, deprived this excellent prince of every protestant advocate; many of them likewise, with much wrath and equal ingratitude, join the common cry of "sacrilege! sacrilege!" But rail not without reason: Take a second view; and lay aside your party spectacles.

Impro-

Impropriations are no creatures of Henry's, but derive their being from him, who, with boundless impudence, pretends to be the head of the church, and vicar of Christ; who in opposition to the will and intention of the pious donors, and against all right, human and divine, wickedly plundered one third of the parishes in England, to enrich an idle, superstitious, ignorant and mischievous set of tools of his, called monks and nuns. These tools were patrons to those plundered churches, in which themselves sang mass or sent others in their stead, called vicars. So that had Henry restored impropriated tithes to the churches they had been taken from, it would have been only putting them in trust, till what was called his tyranny, was overpast; for the future use of a vermin, which this truly patriot king intended should breed no more, to the end that his country might be entirely

ly

ly freed from the plague of them for ever; it would have been offering them likewise to people that durst not *bona fide* accept, that could not keep, that must return them, when commanded by their master at Rome: would have been throwing wealth and power, into the hands of inveterate enemies, to be immediately turned against himself: would, in short, have been contrary to the first law of nature, self-preservation; and against every rule of prudence and of common sense.

And then as to abby lands or monastic estates, real or personal, exclusive of tithes, what right can a protestant clergy have to them? The conditions upon which that right was founded, being of such a nature, that a sincere protestant cannot come into. They were to pray to dead sinners, for them to pray to God, to give ease to their dead founders in, or to deliver them from

from the direful plagues of purgatory : and for the same wise purposes, were they to offer daily, the holy sacrifice of the mass ; that is, they were to sacrifice God to himself ; or to speak in a manner more correct, were to offer one person of God to another person of God ; or to speak in a manner still more intelligible, they were to eat, what has all the properties of bread, and yet is not bread ; and to drink, what has all the properties of wine, and yet is not wine, in remembrance, and to the relief of, their dead benefactors. Now all these, to every sensible protestant, appear to be practices dishonest, useless, impious, profane. The condition thus unperformed, render the covenant void. The work not done, no wages become due. But as these estates were alienated from their original proprietors ; were often the fruits of iniquity to these proprietors ; and were left by, or rather they were tricked out of them, to unjustifiable purposes : the legislature did well

well to seize, and the king had a right to dispose of them as he thought good, without incurring the dreadful guilt of sacrilege.

Sacrilege ! What is sacrilege ? Why, a perverting to common use, things appropriated to the service of God, provided, none but our party did, or could possess them. Lewis XIV. demolished all the protestant churches in France ; and catholicks look upon it as one of the chief glories of that reign. — In queen Anne's days, were pulled down many of the houses of God in this land, that belonged to protestant dissenters. What merit thence to the actors, and joy to all true friends of the church ! A set of men of serious and grave deportment, of blameless lives, having the power of godliness, as far as human eye could discern, without denying the form thereof, entered into a sort of confederacy, and raised

raised a fund to purchase impropriations, in order to restore them to the church. But pious Laud, and the blessed king Charles I. finding them to be a gang of puritanical rascals, put a stop to the design, chusing rather that impropriations should continue where they were, than the church should be obliged to such fellows. The royal martyr seized the fund, and honestly turned it to his own use. And without doubt, Laud, Heylin, Collier, Swift, and such genuine sons of the church, would have been highly pleased, if not a groat had been left to any church in Britain, was a protestant dissenter of any kind, to come into the possession of it. And how highly should I admire, reverence, esteem and love, her *apostolic* and their *imperial, catholic, and faithful* majesties, and the most *christian* king, were they endued with the grace and virtue of sacrilege, in an equal degree with our glorious defender of the faith, and would

would, like him, blow up their monasteries, unkennel their religious, deprive their church and clergy of two thirds of their wealth, and dispose of it, as he did, into such hands as are able to keep it.—If a protestant clergy would not thankfully accept the remaining third, they should have no praise of mine, but I should think them unworthy the name of protestant or christian.

Nor, indeed, are the gleanings yet amiss, in this kingdom, were they but righteously distributed. Let there be encouragement for men of birth, learning and genius. Let the bishops enjoy their thousands; dignitaries their hundreds; fellows and heads of colleges their allotted portions: But let them be only bishops, dignitaries, fellows and heads of colleges. Let every single church, however endowed, have its peculiar incumbent, and be entirely, and indispensably incompatible with any other

other income from the church, of whatever denomination. Thereby the succession in colleges would be thrice as quick, and thrice the number of persons would be assisted in their education; interest would also make tutors qualify themselves better, and take more pains with their pupils; and every church, would always have one ready and at leisure, to perform the duties of it. — What! would I have a man fixed to a living of ten pounds a year? Yes. 'Till he can get a better. If it is not worth your acceptance, let it alone. Another may be glad of it. Should necessity oblige him to teach school, a double advantage thence to the neighbourhood. If he behaved well, there are charms in a virtuous poverty that would procure him friends. In short, was the legislature absolutely to prohibit pluralities of every kind, it would do more real service to religion, and even to the church and clergy in

general, than was it to procure a restitution of all the wealth, they have ever been deprived of.

Having thus shewn that sacrilege, like the chamælion, changeth colour according to its situation; and in its different aspects, in the language of men, becomes a virtue and a vice; and that in Henry, it was an act of necessary prudence, and a virtue sublime and exemplary. And having thrown in an incidental hint, of the unrighteous disposal of the remainder of such his sacrilege, respecting residence and pluralities, an hint impertinent, offensive, ineffectual. I now proceed in my history.

SECT.

S E C T. XXVIII.

Queen Jane Seymour dies. Henry marries Anne of Cleves. Divorces her before consummation. An apology. A reflection.

HENRY having lost his lovely, and much loved queen, Jane Seymour, whom he had always found discreet, humble, and loyal, continued a widower above two years. Several offers had been made him, but reasons of state fixed him to lady Anne, sister to the duke of Cleves, and to the wife of the duke of Saxony, a great beauty both by report, and her picture, by Hans Holbein. His ambassador Dr. Wootton, honestly sent word, that she could write and read in her own language, and sew well, but as to musick, in which the king delighted, it was not the manner of the country to learn it. Henry at first
sight

fight swore they had sent him a Flan-
 ders mare. But as she was come into
 England, whether his good nature
 would not permit him to affront her
 by a refusal; or whether, in his criti-
 cal circumstances, he judged it dan-
 gerous to disoblige the German pro-
 testant princes, her relations, he un-
 happily married her. But by ill smells,
 and doubts of her virginity, he was so
 disgusted, that he neither had, nor
 indeed was able to consummate. The
 parliament pitying his unhappy case,
 address him to have his marriage tried.
 He consents to have it referred to the
 convocation. As there had been some-
 thing of a pre-contract of marriage,
 between her and the prince of Lorrain;
 as Henry had married her against the
 consent of his will, had never consum-
 mated, and it was for the public good
 he should have more children, both
 houses of convocation annulled the
 marriage, and both houses of parlia-
 ment confirmed their sentence.

It

It may further be said, in mitigation of this decree, by the unanimous consent of parliament and convocation, that she also consented to it, and received an honourable amends by a princely establishment; and divorces had often been granted at Rome, upon pretences much more frivolous. That Rome is endowed with a power, which the whole legislature of a country, is not endowed with, is a notion, it is pity any state should give into, as it has no foundation in nature, reason or revelation. But should you call us to the rigour of the gospel, consider: No respect on one side, an invincible aversion on the other; mutual consent, an ample compensation: —How much less criminal this, than even to separate an honest priest from his wife. Both of warm complexions, with children, and love reciprocal? Yet how many thousands of such, whom God had joined together, have

have Popes put asunder? Above ten thousand, it is said, suffered this way, in the short reign of Queen Mary, under that impious instrument of theirs, cardinal Pole. To so iniquitous a practice, and to all such scraps of fathers and councils, as are brought in defence of it, I oppose the apostle's single declaration, that "marriage is honourable in all." Heb. xiii. 3. And, without dismay, would face an army of such feeble adversaries, armed only with the sword of the Spirit, who expressly tells us, that the time would come, when apostates from the faith, lying hypocrites with seared consciences, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils would FORBID TO MARRY, 1 Tim. iv. 1, 2.

Defaming as impure what God declares
Pure,——

Our Maker bids increase, who bids
abstain,

H

But

But our destroyer, foe to God and man?

Hail wedded Love!

Far be it, that I should write thee sin or blame;

Or think thee unbefitting holiest place,
Perpetual fountain of domestic sweets!

There are in this kingdom, pretty near ten thousand churches. Suppose matrimony so clogged by a law, as to prevent two weddings, a moderate supposition, annually, in each of them. The annual amount is twenty thousand, the whole in twenty years rises to four hundred thousand.—Such a number, in all succeeding years, and the breed of them cut off for ever!—What is plague, pestilence, or famine, what a continual war with France, compared with so execrable a law? It is a worm in the bud, that suffers not the fruit to come to maturity. It is a being subdued without noise, and by an enemy that shews

shews not his face.—Is it fit to indulge the pride of the great, and the moroseness, malignity, and avarice of the aged, at the expence of the very being of the most useful of the human race?

—In such a case, party ought to be out of the question, respect of persons should have no place. It is not an house, it is not a town, in flames. The glory, the wealth, the power, the very existence of the community is in danger. Not a free-man, not a freeholder should presume to give his vote, but under a solemn promise of the utmost endeavours to repeal a law so universally ruinous * * * *.

H²

S E C T.

S E C T. XXIX.

*Henry's unalterable affection for matrimony.
Vindicated against Hume.*

FEW princes have given stronger proofs of their affection to God's holy ordinance of matrimony than Henry VIII. Hume, in his circumstances, gives the preference to adultery. Had Hume been his counsellor and prevailed, Henry had saved much reputation, but been a worse King, and a worse man. The Pope had continued his holy father; monasteries had stood; Mary his only child have been married in time; England at this day been a beggarly province to some foreign tyrant; and we, its oppressed inhabitants, had melodiously sung, *Ave Maria*. But notwithstanding black-mouthed calumny, Henry was a christian, he could therefore find no joy in whoring, nor peace in an incestuous bed.—And, what adds to the merit of this prince is,

is, that all his wives, but the first, and Anne of Cleves, were his subjects, and much beneath his royal couch; that had the arguments of kings been strongly applied, it is not improbable, but any of them might have been prevailed with, upon lower terms than those of a crown. But to Henry, the bought smile of harlots had no charm: Nor do I know of any commerce he had that way, but with one of the most ingenious ladies of that age, mother to the Duke of Richmond, a youth lovely as Antilochus the son of Nestor. So that one may venture to affirm, it was the tenderness of a well-informed conscience, that kept Henry from whoredom, and thereby occasioned his quarrels with the Pope. Whence it follows, that the reformation, in this kingdom, was raised upon a virtue eminent, sublime, unexampled, even conjugal chastity, and purity, in the heart of a King, rich, powerful, gallant, in the full strength and vigour of his days.

S E C T. XXX.

Henry marries Catherine Howard. Lord Cromwel sent to the tower. Cranmer writes in his favour. An expression in his letter vindicated against Pole's biographer. Condemned unheard, and executed. Crimes imputed to him. His character vindicated against Burnet. His dying speech. Magnanimity and patriotism.

HENRY thus again set free, would yet neither whore nor live single. The good man was formed for domestic sweets, had they been allotted him. But the greatest of men have most remarkably failed in this important point. His next choice was Catherine Howard, niece to the Duke of Norfolk. And now thrice happy the monarch, and not less powerful she, and all that power under the direction of her uncle Norfolk, who being at the head of the popish party, and supported by the Queen, ventured to
 attack

attack the Vice-gérent Cromwel, who, without the least premonition, was arrested by him at the council-table, and sent to the Tower. Thus fallen, his friends forsook, his enemies insulted him, only faithful Cranmer wrote to the King, saying, " He was such a servant, in my judgment, in wisdom, judgment, faithfulness and experience, as no prince in this realm ever had.—I pray God to send such a chancellor in his place, who can, and will, serve you, and will have so much sollicitude to preserve you from all dangers, as I ever thought he had.—He loved you as God."

Burnet softens that last expression into "above all things." Pole's historian quotes it, with a malignant sneer. But does it not strongly imply, such love was inconsistent with treason? Had he not immense obligations to him? And is it unusual to love the creature not as, but MORE than the Creator? Do

not the poor deluded souls in his own faction; chant ten *Ave Maria's* for one *Pater-noster*? What love, what applications to those dead sinners, Loyola, Dominic, Francis, and that metropolitan offender Becket, as if those deceased criminals, were more ready to hear and to help than the Father of mercies, and the God of all consolation.—

Cranmer's letter availed nothing. Grievous crimes were laid to Cromwel's charge; and Henry was a prince too just and generous to screen a malefactor; had more respect to his own character, and his peoples good, than to support a minister in evil: And thus it is, the King can do no wrong. He acts by his ministers: If any thing be amiss they do it; and ought to answer it with their heads. Henry, as far as appears, did neither accuse nor excuse, only gave him up, in effect to say, "You affirm he is guilty, take ye him and judge him,

him ; if guilty, let him suffer for it." Norfolk accused him to the lords, who in two days dispatched a bill of attainder against him ; the commons drew up a new bill, passed it in ten days, sent it up to the lords, who readily agreed to it, and the King gave his assent.

The bill set forth, " That it appeared by many witnesses, that were persons of honour, that he had been a corrupt traitor.—Had set at liberty persons condemned, or suspected of misprision of treason. Had licenced things prohibited to be transported. Granted passports without search. Had said he was sure of the King. Had dispersed books contrary to the belief of the sacrament ; and said, every man might administer it as well as a priest. Had licens'd preachers suspected of heresy. Had ordered many to be discharged that were committed on that account ;

and discharged all informers. Had many heretics about him. Had said, Barnes's preaching was good, and that he would not turn, though the King did turn: but if the King turned, he would fight in person against him and all that turned; and drawing out his dagger, he wished that might pierce him to the heart, if he did not do it: That if he lived a year or two longer, it should not be in the King's power to hinder it. He had likewise been found guilty of great oppression, and bribery. And hearing some lords were taking counsel against him, had threatened he would raise great stirrs in England. For these things he was attainted both of high treason, and heresy.

Such was Cromwel's power and interest with the King, that many of the things objected to him might be done, by virtue of his office; some of them by the King's command; the remainder, knowing

knowing the King's mind, and being sure they would not offend, he might venture upon, without apprehensions of danger. Oppression and bribery, are bad things, which any minister may be upbraided with, it would have been right, to have mentioned wherein, and against whom exercised. The words are rash and inexcusable, and the drawn dagger indicates a man drunk with wine or power, all well calculated to raise in Henry the highest indignation, to be so braved by a creature he had raised from nothing, but the words are not credible in one so experienced as Cromwel, and so beset with enemies, that were dying with envy, and thirsting for revenge. "Many persons of honour were witnesses," say both houses of parliament. But why was not Cromwel suffered to face those witnesses?—Perhaps he might have put their honour to the blush.—But Cromwel tho' condemned unheard, must not complain.

It

It was by a precedent begun by himself, and practised upon Pole's mother, the Marchioness of Exeter, and others.

"A new and unheard of precedent, saith Burnet, which is a blemish upon that reign, that can never be washed off. And was a breach of the most sacred and unalterable rules of justice."

—Did the good bishop recollect, that the Inquisition, that *holy office*, never practises those sacred and unalterable rules of justice, never brings the accused and witnesses face to face? Did he recollect, that the famous Mortimer Earl of March, was condemned by attainder unheard, and executed so early as Edward III. or that Monmouth had his head hewed off by his relentless uncle James II. without any trial at all.

—But suppose every tittle of the bill true, may we not justly cry out, "is this all that the most rancorous hate, the most inveterate malice could invent,
against

against one of the most absolute, the most patriotically daring ministers to be met with in this, or any other country." Except the general charge of oppression and bribery, what does it all amount to, but that Cromwel was a man of singular humanity, a discourager of informers, abhorring persecution, a good, a sincere protestant, indiscreetly, yet innocently zealous?

It has been said, his ministry "was a constant course of flattery and submission." Henry indeed, was made for rule, and would be obeyed: But it is probable, Cromwel often planned the schemes he executed, and that the King was no farther concerned, than to consider, approve and order: As to flattery, I have met with no instance of it, nor does it seem to be in Cromwel's nature. Fidelity was his characteristic. Fidelity and flattery seldom concur in the same person. And then, such was his good-
nature

nature and easiness of access, that he became a sort of asylum, or sanctuary to people under oppression. Take one instance, as it serves, at the same time, to shew the tyranny of the priest, and slavery of the people, at that age.

Thomas Freburn's wife of Pater-noster-Row, London, longed for pig. Fisher, a butter-woman brought him a pig ready for the spit, but carried a foot of it to Dr. Cocks, Dean of Canterbury, whilst at dinner. One of the dean's guests was Garter king at arms, Freburn's landlord, who sent to know if any of his family were ill, that he eat flesh in Lent. All well, quoth Freburn, only my wife longs for pig. His landlord sends for the Bishop of London's apparitor, and orders him to take Freburn and his pig before Stock-sly the bishop. Stock-sly sends him and his pig to Judge Cholmly, who not being at home, he and pig were brought back

back to the bishop, who committed them both to the compter. Next day being Saturday, he was carried before the Lord - Mayor, who said on Monday next he should stand in the pillory, with one half of the pig on one shoulder, the other half on the other. The wife desired she might suffer as the pig was on her account. A string was put through it, and it was hung about his neck, which he thus carried to the Compter again. Thro' Cromwell's intercession, the poor man at last gained his liberty, by a bond of twenty pounds for his appearance. This mischief-making pig, was by order of the right reverend father in God the Bishop of London, buried in Finsbury-Field, by the hands of his lordship's apparitor. And Freburn was by his landlord turned out of his house, and could not get another in four years.— What hypocrisy! What blind guides! What straining at a gnat is here!—I only just give you the heads of this piteous

ous tale, as an evidence of Cromwel's judgment and known humanity; and as a specimen of the insolence and tyranny of superstition armed with power. It may likewise serve to remind us of that ever-reasonable advice of the apostle, "Stand fast in the liberty where-with Christ has made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage."

The bloody statute of all others, was most highly pleasing to the popish party, was necessary to preserve the peace of the kingdom, and to keep Henry on his throne. The King had all the benefit of it in the loyalty and affection of his catholic subjects; yet Cromwel, by his influence and art, in a great measure rendered that bloody statute bloodless. Marriage in priests was declared felony: But is not whoring, said Cromwel, as culpable? and should not felons fare alike? Opposition in so plain a case, was

too shameful to be attempted. This made the unmarried less forward to inform or persecute, from conscious guilt, or fear of a slip. After Cromwel's fall, this was softened into loss of goods and benefices; which, as whoring was more the work of darkness, before fewer witnesses, and less easy to prove, made it fall heavier upon the married clergy, as indeed, was at first intended.

Cromwel writing to the King, concluded his letter thus: "Written with the heavy heart, and trembling hand of your highnesses most heavy, and most miserable prisoner, and poor slave, Tho. Cromwel, — Most sacred prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy." Burnet calls these most abject words, and says, his mean addresses could not preserve him.

Burnet was an excellent prelate, and faithful historian as to facts; but his reflections are not always accurate. Not
more

more abject are these words, not more mean his addresses, than those of Cranmer, or of Norfolk. High-born Norfolk, bred to arms, pleads past services; confesses evil more than Burnet will allow: Offers his estate real and personal, only desires to live, though upon Henry's alms. This is moving in Norfolk; "but the King's bowels were of brass, though so near his end." Burnet, like other writers I could name, to gain the reputation of impartiality, would blame a friend where faultless; and commend an adversary without merit. To beg the King's pardon, to move his compassion by soft and gentle language, thereby to save life, honour, estate, without injuring another, is not abject, is not mean; but what wisdom, discretion, and duty to God, one's self, and family, require at our hands, or another's.

This letter so moved the King, that he caused it to be read thrice. But
Nor-

Norfolk, Gardiner, and Queen Catherine Howard, were too hard for the poor prisoner, and he was ordered for execution. Upon the scaffold he behaved with decency, and as became a christian, praying for himself, and desiring the rest to pray for him. "And I pray you, said he, that be here, to bear record, I die in the catholic faith, not doubting in any article of my faith; no, not doubting in any sacrament of the church."

When Pole heard that Cromwel died a catholic, not distinguishing between catholic and Roman catholic, his piety put him upon thoughts of easing his pains in purgatory; but learning from persons present at his execution, that his behaviour and words were of too equivocal a nature to ground any confidence of a change of heart, he was in no concern about him, but suffered him to retire, without noise, into the society of

of those *Qui—sui memores alios fecere merendo*, who for their great, useful, and virtuous deeds will be had in everlasting remembrance. Cromwel indeed, would not have thanked him for all he could do for his departed soul. He knew the whole process was a cheat, had therefore, in his life-time, laid an embargo upon that gainful, dishonest traffic.

This very great man, was the son of a lock or blacksmith of Putney. If not eminent for learning, he was not illiterate. He understood latin, and made a proper use of it, having the New Testament in that language by heart. He had moreover, the advantage of travelling into foreign parts; and was a common soldier in Bourbon's army at the sacking of Rome. Whether necessity drove him into that last expedient, I know not. He certainly was robbed of all he had, and generously relieved

relieved by an Italian merchant, who, afterwards falling into distress, coming into England, and being accidentally met and known by Cromwel in all his greatness, he received a most ample recompence. His being a soldier when Rome was taken, and the Pope made a prisoner, occasions much spleen in Pole's historian. But we read of one Cornelius a soldier, the first captain of heathen converts : And of another centurion or captain, who had more faith than was to be found in Israel.—But to the fury of this modern catholic, let us oppose the moderation of a much greater man, his co-temporary, even Cardinal Wolfey, who took so little offence at the part Cromwel acted, in captivating the capital of the world, that, at his return from his travels, he made him his secretary. And faithful did he continue to him, when the rest of the world forsook him : and with such zeal and abilities defended him in the house of commons,

commons, of which he was a member, as to prevent his being attainted of treason.

Henry charmed with the fidelity of the man, took him into his own service, and made him successively privy-counsellor, master of the jewel-house, clerk of the hanaper, principal secretary of state, justice of the forests, master of the rolls, lord privy-seal, baron, the king's vicegerent in spirituals, knight of the garter, great chamberlain of England, and earl of Essex. His readiness in the New Testament, "The testimonies of God being his delight and his counsellor," which made him wiser than his teachers, and so well qualified him for being the King's vicegerent in spirituals, that he presided with dignity in the convocations of the clergy. His speeches in parliament; his injunctions concerning religion, indicate a solid judgment and rational piety.

Great

Great his abilities; unalterable his attachment to his benefactors; of unparalleled courage and intrepidity; of no family, without the support of creature or ally; and yet dare to attack so numerous a clergy, so immensely rich; a clergy, knowing the secrets, and discerning the consciences of high and low, rich and poor, with all their burning zeal, with all their foreign connections. — To have their whole body declared out-laws, and from under the King's protection. — To make them resign their immunities. — Abjure their *jure divino* head. — Acknowledge the King's supremacy, and give him a million and half sterling, as money now goes, to have their submission accepted. — To demolish monasteries, disperse their inhabitants, and purge the kingdom of those caterpillars for ever. — These are some of those wonderful achievements which shew, that his cotemporary Archbishop Cranmer, did not exaggerate, did not advance

advance his character beyond the truth, when he declared him in his judgment, to be “ a minister unequalled in wisdom, judgment, faithfulness and experience.”

“ He carried his greatness with extraordinary moderation, saith Bishop Burnet; and fell rather under the weight of popular odium, than guilt.”

“ He was noted in the exercise of his places of judicature to have much moderation, saith Lord Herbert, and in his greatest pomp, to have taken notice of, and to have been thankful to, mean persons of his old acquaintance.”

Archbishop Parker concludes his character thus: “ There was not at that time in England a person, more religious towards God,—of greater fidelity to the King, — or prudence in matters of state,—or gratitude to those that had done him a kindness,—or piety, charity, and benevolence to all.”

By

By the slanderer's tongue he fell, and by the lips that spake lies. He looked for the succour of men; but found none.—Hail thou illustrious chief! thou faithful minister! thou incomparable patriot! thou friend and martyr to liberty and truth! Hail Cromwel! — even Henry, when too late, is thought to recognize thy merit, and to regret his loss.—He could not restore life, but he ennobled thy son, in that very year wherein thine enemies prevailed against thee. — The high-born Howards with crafty Gardiner prevailed; but know, vengeance though slow is sure; and the time will come, to lament your unhappy success.

As a minister of state, the affairs he was concerned in, brought upon him all that animosity and hatred, which a religious fury and party rage could inspire; yet is his private, and personal character unsullied. How amiable, how

I

circum-

circumspect, how exemplary must have been a life and conversation such inveterate malice durst not tarnish! — Besides, what the two archbishops his contemporaries, for Parker was chaplain to Q. Anne Bullen, besides what Bishop Burnet and Lord Herbert say of him as above-mentioned; worthy our notice, is the testimony of that reputable citizen Mr. Stow, who in his Survey of London, says: “ I have often seen, above two hundred people, twice a-day, relieved at the door of Lord Cromwel.” This was indeed a levee worthy the prime minister of Henry the great and good. For my part, did I pray by a string of beads, or had any faith in the intercession of the souls of the faithful departed; I should daily drop a bead, and chant aloud, *Sancte Cromwel ora pro nobis.*

Henry, having thus acquiesced in the judgment of parliament, and given up
his

his minister; to shew he would neither support bad men nor bad measures, put out a proclamation, that if any one had been injured by a minister of his, upon application to him and his council, they should find redress. And in evidence of impartial justice, in less than a week after Cromwell's execution, were hereticks burn'd, and catholicks hang'd at the same time and place: Four of the last, were for corresponding with that mischievous traitor cardinal Pole, at whose door ultimately lies much of the blood shed in this King's reign, as well as in that of his daughter Mary.

That sanctuary to the distressed thus removed, Bonner also began to prosecute upon the bloody statute, but Henry put a stop to his proceedings. However, one Mekins, a boy of fifteen, indicted for saying "the sacrament was a ceremony;" said one wit-

ness, “ a signification,” said another; upon which variation two grand juries brought in the bill *Ignoramus*. But Bishop Bonner enraged, curst and terrified them so, as to make them find the bill, and the poor child was condemned and delivered to the flames. Yet remarkable it is, that even after this great man, Cromwel’s attainder, the convocation offered the King four shillings in the pound, for his care to free the church of England from the tyranny of the Pope: And the King was graciously pleased to accept it.

SECT.

S E C T. XXXI.

Henry thanks God daily for his good wife Catherine Howard. Is informed of her lewdness. Weeps at hearing it. She is condemned by parliament, and executed.

HENRY formed for wedlock, and all the sweets of it, could he have met with a suitable temper, and a reciprocal affection; was in raptures with his Queen Catherine Howard; was daily thankful for the mighty blessing; and ordered his confessor to draw him up a form, expressing his gratitude, and to join with him in it. Unhappy prince! I love and pity thee: Tender was thy nature, truly amiable thy qualities, but abused wast thou in life, still more so after death. Thy love was real: Her's a fiction. False was the Queen; Norfolk's niece was a whore—nor would vengeance longer sleep, so often called upon by the blood of Bollen, and of Cromwel,

Catherine Howard was brought up by her grandmother the Dutcheſs Dowager of Norfolk; whoſe domeſticks, Derham and Mannock, had often lain with her. Yea, ſo audacious was ſhe, that three different women, at different times, had been in the ſame bed at the ſame time with Derham and her: One of which with Derham, ſhe had taken into her ſervice when Queen. At Lincoln, one Culpepper, was brought to her by Lady Rochford in the night, and ſtayed many hours with her in a cellar, to whom at parting, ſhe gave a gold chain and a rich cap. Her gallants confeſſed and were hanged. She alſo confeſſed her guilt before marriage, but not after: She and her bawd, Lady Rochford, were condemned, and beheaded. “All, ſaith Burnet, obſerved the judgment of God on the Lady Rochford, who had been inſtrumental in the ruin of Anne Bollen, and her own huſband, whoſe reputations were again raiſed, by the vileneſs of her character”.

She

She was condemned by parliament, which, at the same time brought in guilty of misprision of treason the Dutchess Dowager of Norfolk, the Lord William Howard and his lady, the Countess of Bridgewater, five other women, and four men, in concealing what they knew of the Queen's vicious life.

The parliament was thought too severe to the Howards. But surely to dishonour their prince by so notorious a whore, deserved some animadversion. However, the good-natured man, when his passion was a little over, generously pardoned them all. Though when the matter first broke out, he could not help lamenting his misfortune, nor refrain from tears. Yet is Henry upbraided with tyranny, amongst other things, for the taking off the head of such a jade as this. Ye foul-mouthed railers, as well protestants as papists, when ye talk of tyrants, compare Henry's gentle nature,

with Tiberius's behaviour to the friends of Sejanus, or even to his cotemporary princes of France, of Spain, of Germany, or to the long roll of those of our own country.

SECT.

S E C T. XXXII.

Henry marries Catharine Par. Signs articles of impeachment against her. Stops prosecution. Mitigates the bloody statute. A further apology for that statute.

HENRY's affection for the fair still continued, and his honourable regard for matrimony ; much trouble had the women given him, and covered him with dishonour, yet too just and generous was he to condemn the whole, for the faults of a few. His next choice was a widow, her name Katharine Par, a woman discreet and virtuous, who took care of him in his illness, and administered every comfort in her power. And though Henry was unweildy, and troubled with a painful uicer in his leg, which rendered him more than ordinary peevish and morose, yet he behaved to her with tenderness and respect, as indeed he was, through life, an in-

dulgent husband, rather uxorious than otherwise whilst they behaved well ; as is particularly apparent, by the influence they had over him in matters of religion, the thing of all others, he seems to have had most at heart, and to have valued himself most upon. Catharine was inclined to the reformation, had therefore sometimes sermons in her privy chamber, which the King was made acquainted with. She would also sometimes hold debates with him concerning religion, but once carrying matters too far, Henry complained of it to Bishop Gardiner ; who, to heighten his resentment, assured him she was a great cherisher of heretics ; the lord chancellor Wriothesley joining him, they brought the King into such a temper, that he signed articles, upon which she was to be impeached. The chancellor dropt the paper, which a friend of the Queen's finding, carried to her. She went to the King, introduced a point of religion, after

after some little debate, acknowledged her conviction, said she only argued to be instructed by him, and to lead him into a discourse, as a means to help him to forget his pain. Say you so Kate, said he, then all is well, and embraced her tenderly. Next day, walking in the garden together, the chancellor came to carry her to the tower. The King leaving her went to him, chid him severely, and was overheard to call him knave and fool: And Gardiner, thenceforth to his death, was out of favour, was struck out of his will, and not admitted to any share in the administration in his son's minority. Whence it is probable, Henry had no intent to prosecute his Queen, but to see to what length Gardiner would run. Gardiner had before employed Dr. London, a lewd, perjured persecuting villain, to encourage and collect what evidence he could against Cranmer; but the King supported the archbishop, in a manner so kind and obliging,

obliging, as shews the natural friendliness of his temper, when he met with a man open, sincere, and faithful; and such was Cranmer, such was Brandon Duke of Suffolk, and the King remained unalterable in his affection to both of them.

Dr. London, had caused three persons to be burnt at Windsor, upon the bloody statute, and had formed designs against many others. One Marbeck, a singing-man was condemned with the rest, amongst whose books was found part of an English concordance of the scripture, his own work, and the first of the kind. Henry said " he was better employed than those that examined him." These Windsor martyrs were brought to the stake, in consequence of Gardiner's motion in council, that a commission might be granted, to search suspected houses, for books written against the bloody statute. But the generous monarch

monarch to obviate the designs of these blood-suckers, so qualified that execrable statute by act of parliament, as to render it in a manner useless. None were to be imprisoned but upon the oath of twelve men, or the King's special warrant; they must be presented within the year; and for words in a sermon within forty days.

In Henry's intention, That statute was to prove he was no heretic. Whenever an attempt was made to execute it with rigour, he always interposed. He delighted not in blood; was not in his nature a persecutor, but the circumstances he was in, obliged him to hold a strict hand over his people to keep them in peace, and himself upon the throne.

“ Why did he bring himself into these circumstances? Why innovate and not rest contented with the religion of his forefathers?”

The

The answer is easy : What calls itself the *catholic church* had filled up the measure of its iniquity. Several people could read, and they that could, loved it. They had also courage to believe their own eyes. The cheat thereby became evident, and was detested. All Europe was in arms against it, and nothing but a perfidy and cruelty, unknown and unpractised, by any thing but that said catholic church, could have continued it any longer. Henry gave way to truth, as far as was consistent with national security ; and by letting in light, as his people could bear it, introduced the reformation, with the loss of one subject, where, to preserve the antient superstition, would have cost five hundred. Thus France and Spain retained their catholic religion, at the expence of as many millions of their people as it cost England hundreds to abolish it. So that Henry had difficulties to struggle with, which he did not bring

bring upon himself. Some would tyrannize, as usual, over body and soul: Others would judge for themselves, would not be slaves. Hence those commotions which so terrible shook the northern hemisphere.

SECT.

S E C T. XXXIII.

Gardiner out of favour. Norfolk and Surry condemned. Surry executed. Judgment-monging. Henry vindicated in regard to the Norfolk family.

GARDINER's zeal for the bloody statute, conspiracy against Cranmer, and attempt upon the Queen herself, convinced Henry that he was still the Pope's creature, notwithstanding his repeated oaths to the contrary; he therefore treated him with neglect, and left him without power.

The Norfolk family had not yet received its just recompence of reward. The storm now fell upon the duke himself, and his son the Earl of Surry. The earl was tried by a jury of commons; condemned and executed. The duke was attainted by parliament, condemned unheard, and ordered for execution.

Pole's

Pole's biographer, in the true monkish strain, takes every opportunity, to lead his reader into the habit of judgment-monging. Thus, it is observed, saith he, that "King Edward died, on the same day, of the same month, whereon More, lost his head." Had he lived to the day following, he might have said he died on Becket's day, whose shrine Henry had rifled. More would fain have died on that day, but was cut off before it arrived. Hence in my turn, give me leave to observe, that the lives of church saints, and of knights errant, alike deprave the human mind. Mad was Quixote, not less so Pole and More, though of a different kind. Haughty Becket, perjured and rebellious, for the support of a bad cause, was knocked on the head and inshrined: By maintenance of the same cause, did More so and Pole hope to be inshrined, and add to the calendar a Reginald, and another Thomas.

Solomon's

Solomon's advice is, to " answer a fool according to his folly, lest he should be wise in his own conceit." Let us then observe, on our part : That Queen Anne Bollen suffered by her brother's love : That Surry suffered by his sister's hatred : Anne Bollen was of suspected chastity : Katherine Howard was an whore confess'd : The bawd Rochford, was the main instrument in the death of her husband and sister-in-law : Norfolk's whore Hammond, was the principal evidence against him. Norfolk and his dutchess were separated : As he had caused an eternal separation betwixt Henry and his Queen : And as Cromwel was condemned by attainder unheard ; the same measure was meted to Norfolk. Reprisals of this kind you see are easily made ; though such a coincidence of circumstances are not often to be met with.

Here again do our historians, as in a sort of Irish howl, cry out with one consent

consent against the tyrant. " Surry was learned and brave ; Norfolk an old and faithful servant ; Henry just dying, yet without bowels, or with those of brass ! "

— But not so fast, I beseech you. Henry expects not indulgence : Deny him not common justice. Consider Surry's insolence, power, menaces, and ambition ; Norfolk's skill in arms, interest with military men, at the head of the popish faction, and unfaithfulness to his prince. The King also in his last stage, and his son an infant. Mercy to particular guilt, is often a general cruelty : And of their guilt, let Norfolk himself determine.

Norfolk confesses, " that he had concealed high-treason, in keeping secret the false and traitorous act of his son the Earl of Surry, in using the arms of King Edward the confessor, which appertained only to the King of this realm, to which he could make no claim or
title

title by me or any of mine or his ancestors : That he himself had often betrayed the King's secret counsel ; and had borne against all right, the arms of England. In short, That he had been guilty of high-treason, and deserved the punishment appertaining to it." — You may see the whole in Lord Herbert, one of the least malignant of Henry's historians. Consider the men, their manners, and the times, then judge with candor, and perhaps you will acknowledge, that the King would have been defective in a just regard for his people, and infant successor, had he left at liberty, two such able, great, and popular men, as Norfolk and Surry, apparently guilty of treason and ill designs.

Norfolk however did not suffer ; tho' not obliged to Henry's clemency : For ordered to die to-morrow, the King this night expired ; and by Edward's council
it

it was thought improper to begin his reign with blood. He lived therefore a prisoner in the tower all that reign. And there did Mary find, embrace, and set him free. His attainder was looked upon as nothing: Nor did it affect his honour or his fortune; for to that ill-conditioned daughter, that royal vixen, it was no uncommon merit, to have been a traitor to her father.

SECT.

S E C T. XXXIV.

Henry's death variously reported. The true manner of it. His character by Herbert. He did not break the original contract against Pole.

AS for Henry, "Feeling the cold hand of death, he called for a large glass of wine, drank it off, said, All is lost, and expired."

The foregoing lie, is of a kind peculiar to ecclesiasticks of catholic persuasion. Thus Elizabeth breathed her last in lulling strains of soft music; Calvin in despair blaspheming; Luther, the devil flew away with, leaving an horrid smell of brimstone behind. Luther indeed denies the fact, and in print. But poor man, if he escaped then, the devil strangled him at last; though to heretic friends, he seemed to die in his bed without a groan, and to be conveyed in gentle slumber to the seat of endless

endless bliss, after severe conflicts with worse than savage beasts. — But as to commit heretics to the flames, is a service highly acceptable to God and his church ; to slander and revile, and blacken them, cannot be wholly without its merit.

“ What ! And would you have Henry die like other men ? Henry so adverse to the supreme pastor, so destructive to the religious ! Did he not when speechless, seem to mutter something like, Mo-mo-mo-monks, as if in anguish of soul, at his behaviour towards those useful members of society ? ”

Why, Nicholas Doleman, though a good catholic, goes not so far as to say he died in despair, or without religion. On the contrary, if we might believe him, “ he received the sacrament on his knees, when unable to stand, and heard mass in his bed.” This, I believe

lieve, is a lie too. The most probable account is as follows :

Towards his last moments, being asked if a priest might attend, " If any, said he, let it be Cranmer." By the time that good man, then at Croydon, arrived, the king was speechless. Cranmer talked in a manner suitable to his circumstances ; and desired a sign if he understood him. The King squeezed his hand and expired.—And as to monks, true it is, that upon his death-bed, he caused a church of the Franciscans, lately suppressed, to be opened again, but not for the use of the said Franciscans ; but to be made a parish church, endowing it with five hundred marks a year ; and bestowed both the ground and buildings of the said convent, observe again, not on the Franciscans, but on the city, for relief of the poor. From whence, together with his unwearied affection to Cranmer, it evidently appears, he retained

tained the same just opinion of these mischievous seminaries to the last moment of his life. Though, as Herbert observes, " he died religiously and penitently; and was, with all his crimes, the most glorious prince of his time."—The same right honourable author observes farther, " that Henry's adversaries allow he had every perfection of nature and education, deep judgment, and royal courage: And, that his most branded actions, received the sanctions of parliament in public, and of juries in private. So that none could accuse him, without, in some sort, accusing himself. Unless ill arts corrupt the lords, or undue election of the commons be supposed, yet to believe a general corruption in the prime persons of a kingdom, or allow an argument drawn from thence conclusive, is to subvert the foundation of all laws."

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Such

Such a subverter of the foundation of all laws, was that infamous incendiary, and despicable negociator Cardinal Pole; that, to vindicate his ridiculous trotting from prince to prince, to rouse them to arms against his King and country, he pleads Henry's violation of the original contract. "The parliament, saith he, was so far from being a barrier to his outrages, that they armed the King with greater terror than the most absolute monarch, by making the representatives of the people, their joint oppressors." [*L. de Unit. Eccles.*]

The empty declaimer for Pole, had not sense enough to perceive, that the apology he makes, in reality acquits the King, and condemns the cardinal, as being a plain confession, that the cardinal was in open rebellion against the whole authority of the nation, King, lords, and commons: And that whatever changes
were

were made, were agreeable to the original contract; were according to the established rules of the constitution; were made by those who were the proper judges, and who alone had the right to make them. Were the lords corrupt? — Henry did not corrupt them. Were the commons unduly elected? Henry had no concern in their election, nor did he insult, threaten, imprison, fine; nor give place, pension, or title, on account of parliamentary interest or proceedings. If there be such a thing as a free parliament; Parliaments were free in the days of Henry.

Both houses were sensible of the capacity and integrity of their monarch. They looked upon him as a judicious, careful parent, as the true father of his country: He looked on them, as his children, full of duty and affection. Hence that friendly intercourse throughout that long and active reign. Their tender ad-

dress to him, not to grieve or torment himself, on account of Queen Catherine Howard's lewd behaviour, lest it should injure his health : And his imprisoning the sheriff of London, for arresting a member of parliament, exhibits a pleasing idea of true brotherly affection. And his last speech, to his last parliament, probably his own, sweet as the imagined notes of the dying swan, indicate at once the PATRIOT KING, and the sensible and sincere christian.

The preamble to the act of succession sets forth, " that the parliament, considering Henry's wise and excellent government, and the love and affection which he bears to his subjects, give him full power to declare the succession to the crown, either by letters-patent under the great seal, or by his last will, signed with his own hand. " A power, saith Warner, none of his predecessors ever enjoyed." None of them say I,
were

were ever so circumstanced. None merited such a trust. However, in effect, William the bastard exercised such a power, though not entrusted with it by parliament.

S E C T. XXXV.

Henry's parliament vindicated. Learned men in his reign. The English not without taste till Charles II. The character of that reign. Hume, and Pole's biographer censured.

O U R historians indeed, represent Henry's parliaments, as a set of slaves, that would say or unsay, as influenced by his present humour or caprice. Hence that contradiction in their acts. And this submission they impute to jealousy of party. Neither would disoblige, lest they should throw him intirely into the arms of the opposites. Now this, if true, is an evidence of the authority of the man, but at the same time, removes from him all just imputation of tyranny.

But their contradictory acts, do really no where exist, but in the prejudices,
and

and inattention of his historians. Acts vary indeed, as circumstances vary, yet are in themselves perfectly consistent. Thus Mary born in incest, was of course a bastard. The crown was therefore settled in the issue of Anne Bollen. Anne confessing a precontract, thereby bastardized her daughter Elizabeth. Both therefore were cut off by act of parliament, from inheriting by lineal succession; and the crown settled on the issue of Jane Seymour. She leaving only an infant son, it was thought expedient to enlarge the plan, in case that son should be taken away. Now the two women were confessedly daughters to Henry, but his marriage with their mothers was of dubious authority: And so involved was the case, that to legitimate Mary, would undo all that had been done in the matter of the divorce; and must bastardize Elizabeth; and to legitimate Elizabeth, must bastardize Mary. Yet this embarrassment receiv-

ed its origin, not from Henry or his parliament, but from an impudent and impious papal dispensation. But what is to be done in so intricate an affair? Why, as the King's attachment to his own family, and affection to his people are known, leave the matter wholly at his disposal; let his daughters have their chance to reign, not by hereditary right which is dubious, but by their father's will, and by act of parliament, at the same time, let neither of them be defamed in point of birth. And thus ordered, did things go in their proper channel. Right took place, all contradictions were avoided, which they must in any other way, have necessarily fallen into; and the daughters obtained a double right by the law of the land: Which by the law civil, canon, of nature, and of God, will admit of everlasting disputes. Yea, even their right by birth was implied, though not expressed, by making it criminal to slander them.

Our

Our historians still whet the envenomed tooth against this PATRIOT KING, for preferring, in the succession, the issue of his younger, before that of his elder sister of the line of Scotland.

Of that house was only one daughter left. And did not Henry offer her his only son in marriage, and thereby the crown immediately upon his own demise? Could he lay before her, or the states of that kingdom, a greater bait than the crown? And was it not still more inticing, as it must be either now or never? Did not the refusal of such an offer make it plain, she was designed for France? And would Henry enslave his country? Henry—who with so much peril and bravery had asserted her independence, and freed her from the Roman tyrant? would Henry sink her into a province, and subject her to the insults and oppression of a French government? not his own nor his father's

K 5

blood

blood were so dear to this wise and good prince, as to induce him, so ruinously, to infringe that first of moral and political maxims, *Salus populi suprema lex.*

Anne Bollen and Anne of Cleves were divorced, on account of a pre-contract, by canon law. An act afterwards passed, declared "marriage consummated should not be annulled by a pre-contract." Where is the contradiction? Is it any thing more, than to repeal, or to declare that canon of no longer force in this kingdom?

Every—ordinance—according to God's word,—by his majesty's advice, and confirmed by letters-patent under the great seal, which shall at any time hereafter, be—ordained by the archbishops, bishops, doctors—or the whole clergy, upon matters of christian religion,—and the lawful rites, and ceremonies of the same, shall be fully believed and obeyed—any use, custom, or statute heretofore used—

to

to the contrary notwithstanding. Provided always, that nothing shall be ordained by authority of this act, which shall be repugnant to the laws and the statutes of this realm. An. 32. H. 8. cap. 26.

Greater signs of slavery can hardly be seen, saith Rapin. — “ These contradictory clauses in the same statute, rendered the King, arbiter of the lives of his subjects. — This was investing him with the infallibility taken from the pope.”

A heavy charge truly, but altogether unjust. Rapin, I dare say, consulted not the act, but borrowed from our own abusive historians. — The whole in truth, amounts to no more, than that the King might appoint the clergy, to enact lawful rites, ceremonies, and matters of religion, according to God’s word, contrary to old, obsolete popish statutes, but not to those then in being, and the King
was

was authorised to enforce them. This all the contradiction. This all the infallibility the King was invested with.

I shall mention only one act more objected against, as destructive even of parliaments themselves, viz. that, “whereby the King’s proclamations, by advice of his council, were to be obeyed as acts of parliament.—Provided no laws or customs be taken away, nor the subjects suffer in estates, liberties, or persons.”—with such provisos, what is it in effect, but a sort of scare-crow, necessary for those perilous times, of aspect not half so tremendous, as the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus*?

Henry was himself a man of deep judgment, and good learning; a patron and favourer of learned men; of every useful and ornamental art and science: Had a taste for painting; in music was
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an adept; some church-music of that reign, and, I think, of his composing, is allowed by the best judges to be equal to any thing we have at present. And he had about him a set of men more learned, than had ever appeared in this kingdom. Tonstal, Leland, Stockfley, Gardener, Sampson, Day, Lily, Fisher, More, Haddon, Cox, Cheke, Ridley, Ascham, Cranmer, &c. need not have blushed, in company with Bembo, Sadolet, or Contarini. Erasmus is partly ours. Hans Holbein had lodgings in Whitehall.

Pole's biographer would insinuate to his unwary reader, that the English were little better than barbarians, before the reign of Charles II. The sentiment is the genuine offspring of the national prejudice of Mr. Hume, which therefore is not given us in his own diffuse embroidered style, but in the pure *ισοκαλα*, or even balanced periods of the said Mr.

Mr. Hume. After a very imperfect indication of particulars he says, "The fanaticism of the commonwealth despised human knowledge, and was as declared a foe to taste and sciences, as to order and law. — It was not till Charles II. days, that the general sense of the nation awakened, to a discernment in the various productions of genius."

The foregoing curious remark shall be obviated by the following truths. Those fanatic, that is, mad commonwealth's men, did great things, in a little time, were endued with uncommon abilities, and abounded in human knowledge; were declared foes to the faithless over-bearing * * * * *, and to an insolent, oppressive, and lawless ministry; but professed no dislike to taste, science, order, or law. — And of the age of Charles II. the distinguishing marks are: An English King pensioner to France, an open derider of all religion, a disgrace

grace to any, yet a secret papist. — A profligate court. — A vassal parliament or none. — Impious, profane, and bawdy poets. — Clergy passive obedient, yet active persecutors, and zealous preachers against every appearance of religion, under the notion of hypocrisy. — And that ignorance, popery and tyranny might spread their baleful influence without controul, even the Press was under lock and key; none could find admittance, but by a licence from that mercenary sycophant Roger Lestrange. * * * * *. This the joyous æra of Charles II.

SECT.

S E C T. XXXVI.

*Henry no tyrant. A friend to the church.
Of eminent service to his country. In-
stances of both. Vindicated against Bur-
net, Rapin and Swift. The character
of Dr. Swift.*

AS to breaking the original contract, where shall we find the prince that observed it with more strictness than Henry VIII. His coronation oath was, "That he would cause all evil laws or customs to be abrogated." He did so in a notorious manner: Several instances of which have been given in this work. "That he would keep, and cause to be kept, the laws and statutes which the community shall judge fit to enact." This he so punctually observed as to hang papists, and burn protestants, according to the laws and statutes which the community judged fit to enact, "That he would permit the church to enjoy all her liberties."

liberties." Pole's empty noddle, I suppose could frame no conception of CHURCH, without Roman, and Catholic annexed to it : Otherwise, the true meaning of Church in this oath, is settled, beyond contradiction, in the first article of *Magna Charta*, " The church of England shall be free, and enjoy her whole rights and liberties inviolable." Conformable to this part of his oath, did Henry rescue the church of England, from the usurpation and tyranny of Rome, and make her free indeed : Leaving in her hands, thus set at liberty, much more authority and power, than ever her Divine Founder had endowed her with. And how great a friend and patron he was to her, even in temporals, let Dr. Heylin judge : Heylin, chaplain to Laud, *par nobile fratrum*, a noble pair of brothers, a pair whom no one ever doubted to be true and genuine sons of the church.

Heylin

Heylin then, an impartial historian, if Pole's biographer be a competent voucher, saith thus in his history of the reformation.

“ Henry left the church in a better condition than he found it, not only in reforming it, but in its endowments. — Monasteries were excrescences upon the body of the church, exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, and wholly depending upon the Pope, and such as might be taken away, without derogation to the church, in power or patrimony. — Bishopricks he preserved and increased their number. — Founded a school in every cathedral with annual pensions to the master and allowance to the children. Ordained public readers in both universities in divinity, law, physic, Greek and Hebrew, with liberal salaries. — Founded, or at least confirmed, Christ-Church in Oxford, and founded Trinity in Cambridge, the two most magnificent foundations

dations in the christian world—And delivered his people in general, as well as ecclesiastics, from the trouble and expence their commerce with Rome annually put them to.—In point of reformation, he first ordered his bishops and convocation, to compile a book, explaining the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments.—He also ordered all curates to teach the people to say them in English.—He ordered the Bible in English to be placed in every church.—And that the Litany should be read in English."—By prohibiting that commerce with Rome, he delivered us from appeals, citations, peter pence, annates or first fruits, dispensations, bulls, breves, faculties, &c.—He lessened the number of holidays.—Brake the neck of pilgrimaging.—Destroyed those nests of villains called sanctuaries.—Secured patrons in their rights of presentation, which Popes often infringed by provisions, commendations, &c.—Reduced the exorbitancy of pluralities

pluralities and non-residence.—Moderated and ascertained the value of mortuaries; and the expence of probates of wills, some of which, at this day, would not be proved for twenty thousand pounds, at the rates which that Pope's legate, Cardinal Woolsey, demanded and received.—Repealed the statute of Henry IV. against heretics, thereby abolishing that infernal iustrument of tyranny the oath *ex officio*; by which a person was obliged to confess his guilt though capital, or to be forsworn: Thus forcing a poor heretic to discover the secrets of his heart, in effect, most inhumanly compelling him either to burn his body, or to damn his soul.—Freed us from the canon law, where inconsistent with the law of the land. The *canon law*, that sink of forgeries and impiety, enacted even by the worst Popes, persons bloody and ambitious, traitors to princes, and butchers of christendom.—By abolishing monastic orders, secularizing their estates, and

and rendering them alienable, common people became owners of property, thence liberty, thence trade.—Thus to Henry ultimately is England indebted for her wealth, credit, and power.—Henry rescued our bodies from vassalage and slavery, and set our minds at ease.—Even from a four-fold tyranny did this glorious patriot deliver us, most unmercifully exercised by priests, barons, Popes and Kings.—But say, ye lawyers, ye who are able to deduce effects from their proper causes, are there not more useful statutes of this reign, than of all the Kings that went before him ?

Sir Thomas Seymour gave him a hint, “ that bishops did not make a proper use of their estates, and that less might serve.” His answer is worthy the prince that made it. “ I know your purpose well enough, you have had among you the commodities of the abbies, which you have consumed, some with superfluous

fluous apparel, some at dice and cards and other ungracious rule, and now you would have the bishops lands and revenues to abuse likewise:—But set your hearts at rest, there shall no such alteration be made while I live.”

The parliament settled upon him seminaries, colleges, chantries, free chapels and guilds, to the number of two thousand, seven hundred thirty - four. Few of which did he meddle with. These two instances shew his rapacity was not so boundless, as his adversaries would have it thought. In clemency, I say even in clemency, he was superior to any prince of the age he lived in. The templars were tortured, defam'd, and burnt; the jesuits are banished: Henry gave liberty to his religious, and amply provided for them in their own country, and their pensions were always honestly paid. And true it is, that Henry was a tender husband, an affectionate father,
a fin-

a sincere, easy, generous friend, and a kind and indulgent master: fat and cumbersome in the decline of life, yet not uncommonly voluptuous. Peculiar circumstances led him into a multiplicity of wives, though not addicted to women, as we hear of no spurious issue, but the amiable Duke of Richmond: nor of any mistress, but the mother of that nobleman. So that compared to the generality of princes, he might pass for chastity herself. And had he met with such historians, as faction has yielded some of his less deserving successors of the Stuarts, he had been handed down to us, as one of the best of Kings, and the blemishes of that reign would have been imputed, and with truth, to the necessities of the times, and to a concurrence of causes, it was not in his power to prevent. But his carrying so even a hand between two factions, and suffering the laws to take their course against both of them, though really with as much
 miti-

mitigation, as the public peace would admit, has made them both so outrageous, that even Burnet, and from him Rapin, says, “ He stuck at nothing, by which he could either gratify his lust or his passion.”

Another calls him “ a monster and a tyrant, a detestable tyrant.” And confidently avers, that “ amongst all the princes who ever reigned in the world, there was never so infernal a beast as Henry VIII. in every vice of the most odious kind, without any one appearance of virtues : But cruelty, lust, rapine and atheism were his peculiar talent.”—What calumny ! what a parcel of lies in a breath ! —Had this foul-mouthed wretch never heard of Philip II. of Spain ? of Francis I. Charles IX. Lewis XIV. of France ? of a good half hundred of their Imperial Majesties ? —Would you know what made this beast so loudly bellow ? Why, “ He took from the clergy two thirds of their legal
possession

possessions : And cut off the head of Sir Thomas More, a person of the greatest virtue this kingdom ever produced." And is this all ? Did never tyrant go farther ? — Gentle souls ! — Why, Heylin owns, " the church was bettered by him." And as to More, I trust we have now within this realm, some thousands as good as he. In learning he was superficial ; where property was concerned, a judge honest and expeditious ; to imaginary heretics, injurious ; an odd mixture of the coxcomb and the drole, the saint and the buffoon : But he died like a fool, and thence the weight of his merit.

But not gentler treatment does the reformation meet with, from the same egregious reviler, which, he says, " in every country where it was attempted, was carried on in the most impious and scandalous manner that can possibly be conceived." This railer is the late Dean of St. Patrick's, the most arrogant and

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proud

proud of all the creatures of God, whose own Yahoo is the express image of his soul.—The above charming confessions, though absolutely false, by their patriot, the protestant dean of that capital, will probably do more mischief in Ireland, than fifty protestant schools will be able to repair.

Rapine, cruelty, and lust, are imputed to Henry by others: But atheism is the calumny almost peculiar to Swift, whose pride, ill-nature, and impetuosity of temper, made him utterly regardless of truth or decency towards every person he disliked. So that “infernal beast,” and “detestable tyrant” from him, ought to be looked upon as only common marks of disesteem. Posterity will ever look upon the Dean of St. Patrick’s, as the metropolitan scold of the eighteenth century. The talent was born with him, was improved in his two-penny lodgings, and perfected by assiduous practice. He followed

followed nature and shone. Had he neglected that talent, Swift had lived an impenetrable blockhead, and died unknown. But by proper application, to such height of eminence did Swift arrive in his profession, that one would think, in the dean's system of ethics, evil speaking, lying, and slandering, were three of the cardinal virtues. For this great prince he so wickedly defames, has really given no grounds for suspecting he ever doubted the being of a God, or the truth of the christian religion: The last was the subject of his daily meditation, few of that dark age understood it better, and not many, circumstanced in all respects as he was, would have approached nearer to the strictness of its morals. And to make what amends he could, for the faults he had committed, in that high and perilous station providence had placed him; this real defender of the faith; this truly christian King, ordered in his will, " That all who had

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sustained

sustained any manner of damage or hindrance by him, should be satisfied for the same."

Henry was really no tyrant, brake no original contract; was always at unity with his parliaments: Law was the measure of his actions. I know not the man injured, much less murdered, by arbitrary power, or prerogative-royal, no illegal imprisonments, do we hear of; no exorbitant fines, no merciless whippings, whose detail yield horror to the imagination; no nailing ears to pillories, and deforming the human face divine. — Judges occasional or at pleasure; sham plots, suborned witnesses; packt, or intimidated juries, were not the products of this reign. Let Mary's fires recur to your minds. — Read the inimitable remonstrance of 1641. without party spectacles. — Consider the bloody assize, or western campaign, under Kirk and Jefferies, who revelled in the blood of inno-

innocence. Yet, void of every tender feeling as they were, could not fill up the measure of the vindictive spirit of James II. though he had the head of the insurgents in hold, the favourite son of his too indulgent brother, and determined to hew him in pieces. Kirk said so; and Kirk had more honour than to lie, or to pretend to be a papist, though probably of no religion. Poor Elizabeth Gaunt, how pitiable thy case! to be burnt even at London, that the favour of thy broiling carcase might regale the royal nostrils. Thy crime was only harbouring one of Monmouth's adherents, till thou couldst procure him a passage beyond sea, voluntarily informed against by that villain, whose life thou hadst preserved! Yet is James II. no monster, no infernal beast, no tyrant. The usual epithet is "unfortunate;" tenderly intimating thereby, that he met with harder treatment than he deserved. — But agreement in faction

yields a pleasing gloss to every enormity. Exile, the block, or halter constitute a faint, without moral sentiment, or practice. Generous, benevolent, humane!

Henry, in Burnet's opinion, " was the most unaccountable man in the world." In mine, he appears ever attentive to both parties. He certainly would listen to the private debates of Gardiner and Cranmer. His understanding was equal, if not superior to all about him; of uncommon sagacity, and unwearied application, and thus attained a full view of both sides the question. The matter when fully comprehended and understood, he thenceforth indeed was immovable, nor ceased to persevere till he had carried his point. Consider the blindness and bigotry of his youth, yet how he gave free admittance to truth, as it occurred; prepared his people gradually for the reception of it, and communicated it to them as they were able to bear

bear it. Had he lived a little longer, I am persuaded he would have been as declared a foe to the church of Rome, as he was to her court; and would have made a thorough reformation. That candid breast was formed for truth; it could not fail to find admittance there. A clear evidence whereof is, that he who had been bred in the blackness of the darkness of popery, had assumed such christian fortitude, as to dare to own the mass a cheat; which therefore he and Francis the French King were in treaty about changing into a communion. Francis always faithless, perhaps meant no more than to embroil Henry with his people. But Henry doubtless was sincere; which convinces me, he knew the truth; but would not venture to enforce it, without the concurrence of France. However, death put an end to that project; and in his will were orders for masses for his soul, with ample pay for the mass-mongers.

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Did Henry sacrifice to vanity at last? Is his will authentic? Did he want time or inclination to alter it? Was it a tame submission to the custom of his country? Or did he did look upon it, if a fraud, yet a pious, or at least harmless one, which seems to have been the prevailing opinion of that age? Hence was it either dropt or taken up again, as the court directed, without general concern on either side.

SECT.

S E C T. XXXVII.

Pole instructs Cranmer in the doctrine of transubstantiation. Stupid the teacher. The doctrine impious and absurd.

TRANSUBSTANTIATION, that utmost effort of human impudence and delusion, even Henry's strength of mind seems not to have been able ever to have got the better of. It is indeed a monster, in popish apprehension, placed in so impregnable a fort, that nothing but the Devil can give it disturbance. Pole, in a letter to Cranmer, given us by Strype, which, for shuffling, insolence, cant, and fanaticism, has not many equals. After telling him with a mixture of godly phrase, as is the manner of the man, "that he was under the vengeance of God, a member of satan, and damned," proceeds to instruct the great archbishop in this fundamental article of popery, in

the words following. Hear him. "The more probable you make it, the further you swarve from the trew doctrine of Christ, and verie trew maner to teach it. —God will have both man's reason and sense mortified and dye utterly, when this mystery meate of life is spoken and taken. For, as that was the beginning of the destruction of man, when followeng the probability of reason, he would feade hymself with meate prohibite unto hym; so, the counsil of God hath ordained this to be the beginning of the life of man, to take a sensible meate, wherein neither reason nor sense can find any probability, or make any judgment thereof."

Such, you see, is the nature of this assemblage of contradiction and gibberish, that a Newton or a Locke are no more able to cope with it, than a babe of three years old. But seeing this burning, this fundamental article of popery, is without probability, against sense, and of which
reason

reason can make no judgement: How can I believe, or give my assent to the truth of a doctrine, confessedly improbable, senseless, irrational.

Why, saith the cardinal again to the archbishop: "The way of falling into errors and heresies, is by meddling with your wit and discourse natural, to examine the articles of the faith; making your reason judge thereof, which ought to be judged and ruled by the tradition of the faith."

The plain english of what this stupid fellow saith is this. "You ought to take things upon trust, and to believe as we do, and thus shall we be all of one mind. But if you come to examine, and to reason upon things, which are, in their own nature, unreasonable, improbable, contrary to your senses, and which you know, even by intuitive knowledge, to be most impudent lies, and against all appearance
of

of truth : Why, thus will divisions arise, and we shall differ from one another, as much as a reasonable man does from an obstinate fool."—But our cardinal wisely advances in his instructions. Hear him.

" The more probable it is, the more false it is: The great Sophister, and Father of lies, ever deceiving us by the probability of reason."

I am in no doubt, but Pole's biographer would lift up hands and eyes in admiration of these pious aphorisms of his hero, in defence of that characteristic of his religion, an article that would debase even the creed of a Hottentot.

But are they not of equal force in the mouth of a Priest of Moloch, as in that of a member of the sacred college? Might he not thus justify his making children pass through the fire? And might not
the

the Papa of Mexico, defend his wall of human heads, his cleaving open the breasts of living men, and plucking thence their palpitating hearts, with the fume thereof to feed his hungry gods? Should you pretend to reason with them, to shew the errors of their ways, and the extream wickedness of their religion: Has not Pole furnished them with a coat of mail impenetrable to all human weapons? The more probable, why the more false.—God will have sense and reason mortified and die.—From examination and reason proceed errors and divisions.—Probability of reason is the Devil's instrument to deceive.—And thus did Pole maintain his catholicon by such means, as will vindicate the diabolic worship of Moloch and Vilziliputzli.

The man that will believe against sense reason and probability, is an instrument ready formed for every knave to play upon. Is duly qualified for any religion
under

under heaven, but particularly for the worst. For in proportion as religion deviates from truth and virtue, does it abound in things senseless, unreasonable, improbable.

It is said, "There is a pleasure in being mad which none but mad men know." Let them enjoy it. Only in opposition to their extravagance, give me leave to say, that our reason and senses are the gift of God, and the only inlets of all the knowledge we have. The tradition of faith itself we understand by them, nor without them can any idea be formed of what is meant, even by transubstantiation. My mother, nurse, priest, party, assure me "A wafer is my God, and at the same time a human body." My sense does not deceive me, I hear them say what they really do say: Or I see it written in the bloody statute. My sense is again in the right. It is there written. But at the same time I see, feel, taste,

taste, smell, that it is but a wafer, and has not the size, form, nor any resemblance of the body of a man. Now to believe a tale that is told, in contradiction to what I see, feel, taste, smell, is a foolish credulity, against sense, reason and probability ; it is to believe a corrupt, lying, interested creature, rather than mine own eyes ; yea, rather than the creator and giver of those eyes ; is, in effect, a most impious calumny against God himself, implying that the guide he had given us to conduct us through life, was not only himself blind, but under the guidance of the devil. So the destruction of all reason, knowledge, faith, so disgraceful to man, and impious to God, is what Pole's biographer justly calls, " the characteristic article of the Catholic religion."

S E C T. XXXVIII.

True Christianity described.

BUT useless is it to talk, where sense, reason, and probability, are looked upon only as the devil's arts to deceive. Yet I will proceed farther, and say, that Christ Jesus came not into the world to reveal things unrevealable, to deprive us of our senses, or to disparage reason. But his intent was to free her from a corrupt tradition, unmerited authority, and evil customs; to place her upon the seat of judgment, to view things as they are in themselves, and to determine according to their nature, unbiaſſed by persons or things external. — Where mystery begins, religion ends. — Whatever is fantastick, low, ridiculous, or tends to depreciate the human understanding, or to inflave body or mind, is not of Christ, or of God. His farther design was to point out to
reason,

reason, things eminently worthy her meditation; things of everlasting concern; to exercise her in the purest morals; to inculcate universal love; to introduce such a behaviour amongst men as would render life happy and death comfortable. And in respect to God, by representing him, as he really appears in his works, great, wise, just, good, merciful, to shew the reasonableness of the devotion of the heart and spirit, expressed in sincere affection towards an almighty friend, in thankful adoration for his mercies, and in humble prayer for the continuance of them.

I add farther, that the religion of Jesus, is comprehended in that small compass of the v. vi. and viith chapters of St. Matthew. The remainder of the gospels consists in repetitions of the same sermon, or explications of it in the way of parable, or in proofs of his divine mission, by the mighty works done by him.

him. And St. Paul's epistles are an inimitable commentary upon the same sermon, intermixed with reasonings against Jews and Gentiles, to remove their prejudices against the truth, reasonableness, and necessity of that divine dispensation. So that the christian that would neither deceive, nor be deceived, should study that sermon with the deepest attention, before he attempts St Paul's debates, in which are difficulties, not cleared by Locke, an able man and sincere christian. Others make so wild a business of it as to set him at open variance with his master, and indeed with every thing good and useful in religion, or to men, in the point of works, as if of no regard, and worth nothing. But they understand him not.—Blind guides are they.—In much danger of the pit and of pulling others in with them. For no where is morality more perfectly strict, more rigidly pure, more clearly expressed, or more strongly enforced, than by this great apostle.

I will

I will add yet farther, that the religion of Jesus, is a series of plain truths, plainly delivered, by the most universally benevolent person that ever appeared amongst men. And it was preached to the poor in understanding, as well as poor in circumstances; to guide them in every incident of life, and to guard them against the imposition of others. If you ask how it came to be altered since, as to become an ingenious thing to be a christian. I answer that half-jew and half-heathen converts, policy and enthusiasm, emulation of leading men, and party rage have all conspired to corrupt and darken it. Of policy take an example in the words of a politic cardinal to a Pope not less politic.

“ If people were suffered to read the scriptures, they might come to believe there was not such need of clergy. The keeping the mysteries of religion in the hands of priests, has been the principal means

means in all ages of making the priesthood sacred and venerable. These mysteries and rites thereof, as the greatest secret and arcanum of church government, should be preserved. Nay, the clergy should rather fly to tropes and allegories, if not to caballa itself, than permit that all parts of religious worship should be thought so obvious, as to fall easily within common understandings, without their explication. Since it might well be questioned, whether the essence of religion (consisting in the doctrine of good life and repentance) might be held sufficient alone to exercise the most vulgar capacities. Since printing therefore is not to be put down, it were best to set up learning against learning, and by introducing able persons to dispute, to suspend the laity betwixt fear and controversy. This, at worst, yet would make them attentive to their teachers." *Wolsey's supposed address to the Pope for suppressing monasteries, for building his colleges.* Herbert.

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As to that wonderful wonder of wonders, peculiar to the catholic church, of turning a wafer-cake into a God-man, by pronouncing four words, which becomes a sacrifice.—Is offered to itself.—Is the priest's property.—Directs its favours by the priest's intention.—Which he sells to those will please to buy.—And to deter his dupes from discerning the cheat, assures them with an air commanding respect, that his reason and senses, those undoubted gifts of God, are the devil's instruments to deceive. Thus impiously defaming the divine munificence.—This prodigy, I say, which a lover of truth, and of mankind, can hardly think, or speak of with temper, will I expose no farther. But will give you in brief, the real character of its most desperate defender Cardinal Pole; a fictitious one having been lately exhibited to us in two volumes of enormous size; as of an all accomplished church-man, considered as a patriot, a christian, and a prelate.

S E C T.

S E C T. XXXIX.

The late history of the life of Cardinal Pole, censured. Pole's character by Tonstal. Henry's character recapitulated. The end.

THE facts attributed to Pole, by the writer of his life, I do not dispute. Our difference is about the nature and quality of those facts. I take words in the meaning, which use and custom has affixed to them, and look upon virtue and vice as things real, absolute, distinct, and determined by nature, or rather the end of nature. He seems to make their very essence consist in the relation they bear to popery, by him called the catholic church. And often does he dishonour that fair virgin, truth herself; by substituting her in the place of that gawdy harlot. Thus making truth and popery the same thing, under two denominations. This point gained,

gained, what advances popery, is virtue; what depresses popery, is vice. And by such abuse of words, does he throw a mist before the eyes of the unwary reader. But a little circumspection dispels that mist, and the whole appears one continued insult upon the understanding.—He painteth a devil, exposeth it to public view, and writes underneath it, *what a saint is here!*—As a Dutch droll the thing is not amiss: But the solemn demeanor of the man shews, he expects to be thought in earnest.

That he and I differ is apparent. But it would be unjust to think our difference, the difference only of catholic and heretic. For catholics as zealous, and as learned as he, and who knew Reginald Pole much better than either of us, held that canting, ill designing tool, in as great contempt and detestation as I do. The ablest popish bishops of that age wrote against him. As Sampson of Chichester,

Chichester, Stockley of London; Gardiner of Winchester, and Tonsil of Durham. The last was one of the most respectable popish bishops, England was ever favoured with. Sir Thomas More had the highest opinion of his probity, prudence, and learning. And Pole himself acknowledgeth, that he was “the learnedest man in the nation, and of the highest reputation for virtue, before he deserted their cause.” (*Pole epist. pag. 2. Epist. 80.*) Yet so firm his attachment to the catholic cause, that he chose rather to quit the rich bishopric of Durham, than to conform to the reformation in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

To the learned, prudent, and pious bishop of Durham, his cotemporary, his acquaintance, and of the same household of faith did Cardinal Pole appear, when in his progress from bad to worse, to be an arrant traitor—without shame. An enemy to his country, so inveterate, that he
would

would be content to run headlong into hell, so he might thereby be able to destroy it.—More wild and cruel than a tyger.—Incomparably worse than a pagan.—Ungrateful.—A child of the devil.—An hypocrite.—And therefore doubly devilish—and detested of Christ, for acting the devil's part under his name. But “fear not thou Englishman, continues this worthy bishop, take courage, and be nothing afraid, thou hast God on thy side.—Thou hast a noble, victorious, and virtuous King, hardy as a lion, who will not suffer thee to be devoured by such wild beasts. Only take an English heart unto thee, and mistrust not God, but trust firmly in him, and surely the ruin intended against thee, shall fall on their own neck that intend it, &c.” *Tonstal's sermon preached on Palm-Sunday, 1538.*

Tonstal, you see, honestly calls a spade a spade. Tonstal knew the man and

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his communication, and had in him too much of an English heart, to approve of either of them: Had a soul too great to suffer his eyes to be put out by party-zeal: and was of more integrity, than to say he saw what he did not see, or to give a colour different to what he saw it in.

This description of the English Cardinal is given us by one, "whom, (in the words of his biographer,) veracity, and even an intimacy with the man, must place above all suspicion of being a stranger to his person, or misrepresenting it." And such must Pole ever appear, to every human creature that knows the tenor of his life, unless to such miserable bigots, who can think a zeal for popery, can alter the nature of things, and be of power sufficient to sanctify every sort of villainy.

Having thus done justice to that ungrateful rebel the English Cardinal, let

us return to the *English Patriot King*, whose character I shall recapitulate in few words, with intire impartiality, every article of which is founded upon undeniable facts, recorded in this treatise.

Henry then, was a person of great sagacity and judgment, of unwearied application to business, knowing men and how to manage them. Hence that constant harmony with his parliaments, thro' a reign of almost forty years, parliaments, *freely* chosen, *freely* acting; not brib'd, not bullied, not biaffed by any thing, but the native dignity of this prince; his acknowledged prudence, probity, and good designs; — deliberate in council, singularly patient and persevering to bring to effect things once resolved on; — of considerable learning himself; a friend and patron to learned men, and to every useful and ornamental art and science; — social, magnificent, magnanimous, — a tender husband, — an indulgent

gent father, — a faithful friend, — a generous master, — not lewd, not cruel, not voluptuous, — an honest open-hearted man, — a sincere christian, and a PATRIOT KING.

THE END.

